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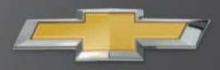
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FIND NEW ROADS

CHEVROLET





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Martin Gunseus, 30, with 9-monthold son Pim, on Sept. 18 in Stockholm, two weeks into his scheduled eight-month paternity leave

Photograph by Elin Berge— INSTITUTE for TIME

ON THE COVER: TIME photoillustration. Photograph by David Freund— Getty Images

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Conversation



WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT...

SUPREME RECKONING The cover of the Oct. 1 issue showed Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh and sitting Justice Clarence Thomas, both of whom were accused of sexual misconduct during their confirmation

hearings—prompting
Tim Ackert of Orlando
to agree that the current situation is "déjà vu
all over again." Readers disagreed on what
that should mean for
the court. Elizabeth
Hinesley of Delray
Beach, Fla., felt that
"one possible act of
a drunken teenager"
shouldn't be disqualify-

'Maybe what we need is more female nominees.'

MIRIAM JOHNSON, Columbia, S.C.

ing; Ruth Dell of Tiburon, Calif., thought the idea that such things aren't relevant overlooked "what is at stake." And Carol Bogard of Wilton, Conn., was left feeling that, regardless of whether Kavanaugh is confirmed, "the court of public opinion has found him gravely wanting."

"I'M A TEACHER IN AMERICA" Katie Reilly's Sept. 24 cover story on American teachers struggling to make ends meet was shared by U.S. Senators Bernie Sanders and Kamala Harris—and lots of teachers with stories to tell. "It's hard to believe that our profession is so undervalued," wrote Tanya

'As a country, we need to get our priorities straight before it's too late.'

LOUIS WERNER, West Sayville, N.Y. Stewart of Salida, Colo. But Jenna Nelli, a teacher in Atlanta, wished the story had provided more detail on how those profiled spent the money they had, to put those dollars in context. Glenn Henry of Warwick, Queensland, Australia, predicted that such debates will be moot

"sooner than you think" as "teachers will be replaced by technology."



FLYING HIGH TIME spoke to Southwest Airlines captain Tammie Jo Shults, who saved 143 passengers by pulling off an emergency landing earlier this year, about overcoming sexism to become one of the Navy's first female fighter pilots. The interview is part of Only Woman in the Room, a series co-produced by TIME, *People, Entertainment Weekly* and other Meredith brands. Read more at **time.com/hero-pilot**



GETTING REAL With 28 Olympic medals, swimmer Michael Phelps can seem super human, but in a new interview with TIME's Alice Park, he opened up about his battle with depression: "I struggle through problems just like everybody else," he says. Watch at **time**..com/phelps-health



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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In "After the Silence Is Broken" (Oct. 1), we misstated when Chicago's "Hands Off Pants On" ordinance passed. It was in July 2017. In that same issue, we misstated author Nicole Chung's birthplace in our fall books preview. She was born in Seattle. Because of an editing error in "The World's Greatest Places 2018" (Sept. 3—Sept. 10), an article on Tianjin Binhai Library mischaracterized the level of adult literacy in China.

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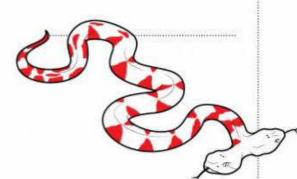


'It felt at the time on par.'

Prime Minister of New Zealand and the first world leader to bring a baby to the U.N. General Assembly, to Today co-host Savannah Guthrie, who asked if running a country was harder than taking an infant on a 17-hour flight

\$6 billion

Increase in Nike's market value in the first three weeks of September, when it debuted activist and former NFL quarterback Colin Kaepernick as the face of the "Just Do It" ads



Number of heads on a copperhead snake discovered in the yard of a **Northern Virginia home**

Donuts

Dropping a word from its name, the coffee chain becomes just Dunkin



HazeInuts

M&Ms announces the addition of a new flavor: "hazelnut spread"

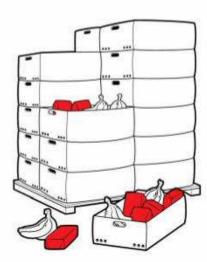
CAN'T PICK

PAUL GOSAR.

Republican Congressman from Arizona, reacting to an advertisement in which six of his nine siblings endorsed his midterm election opponent, Democrat David Brill

It's strange times, huh? Don't give up.'

singer-songwriter, before performing "American Tune" during a Sept. 22 concert in Queens, N.Y.; the show was the final stop in what the 76-year-old musician says was his last tour



\$17,820,000

Estimated value of 540 packages of cocaine found by the Texas Department of Criminal Justice in 45 boxes of bananas donated to a prison

Just a few of the 300 newly game-eligible words added to the Official Scrabble Players Dictionary for its sixth edition, released Sept. 24:

bizjet

n. a small airplane used for business

capcom

n. a person who assists a space mission

ew

interj. used to express disgust

frowny

adj. showing a frown

judgy

adj. tending to judge others

ok

adj. all right

puggle

n. a kind of dog

sho

n. a former monetary unit of Tibet

yowza

interj. used to express surprise

zen

n. a state of calm attentiveness

'Democracy continues with or without you.'

MICHELLE OBAMA,

former First Lady of the United States, at a voter-registration event in Las Vegas on Sept. 23



WHAT'S AT STAKE IN A NEW DEAL BETWEEN THE VATICAN AND CHINA'S GOVERNMENT HOW REDEFINING ONE SHORT PHRASE COULD CHANGE U.S. IMMIGRATION RULES WHY BILL COSBY'S ACCUSERS HOPE HIS SENTENCE SENDS A MESSAGE FOR THE #METOO ERA

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TheBrief Opener

WORLD

Trump widens rift with Europe on Iran

By Ian Bremmer

RESIDENT DONALD TRUMP UNINTENTIONally drew a round of laughter in his address to the U.N. on Sept. 25, when he claimed his Administration had achieved more than almost any before it. But the divisions on display at the 73rd General Assembly were no cause for mirth.

At Turtle Bay, the question of how the world should engage with Iran reached a boiling point, almost five months after Trump withdrew the U.S. from the multilateral agreement designed to prevent Iran from building a nuclear weapon. The issue is becoming a crucial test of U.S. dominance in transatlantic relations.

Trump has already ordered the reinstatement of sanctions on the purchase of Iran's debt and taken steps to stop foreign companies from doing business in Iran. The European governments that spent almost two years negotiating the nuclear deal—France, Germany, Britain and the E.U. leadership—vowed to resist U.S. pressure for compliance and to protect the ability of their companies to evade U.S. penalties.

But some of Europe's largest companies—including German conglomerate Siemens, French energy giant Total and Danish shipping firm Maersk—have stepped back from Iran to avoid losing access to more lucrative U.S. markets. The next wave of U.S. sanctions, due Nov. 5, will target Iran's port operators, insurance and reinsurance businesses, and foreign purchases of Iranian oil. "More will follow," Trump assured the U.N. on Sept. 25.

The impact on Iran has been swift and severe. Current forecasts estimate its economy will grow by just 1.8% this year before contracting by 4.3% next year. In recent weeks, Iran's currency hit a series of record lows against the dollar, pushing prices higher.

The worry now centers on oil. Iran draws nearly 80% of its tax revenue from oil exports, which have fallen 35% since April in anticipation of November's sanctions. Though Washington isn't responsible for all of Iran's economic troubles, the U.S. penalties have ignited a fast-expanding fire, and November's oil sanctions will add accelerant.

At the U.N., Trump left little doubt about what he thinks of Iran's leaders. They "plunder [Iran's] resources to enrich themselves and to spread mayhem across the Middle East and far beyond." They "sow chaos, death and disruption." They are responsible for "havoc"

'We believe the [Iran deal] should stay in place, and others involved believe it should stay in place.'

THERESA MAY, British Prime Minister



and "slaughter." Iran is "the world's leading sponsor of terrorism."

European leaders have a different view. British Prime Minister Theresa May told CBS News on Sept. 23 that Iran is holding up its end of the deal. "We believe the [deal] should stay in place," she said, "and others involved in putting that deal together believe that it should stay in place."

Now these countries want to protect their economies and companies from the ill effects of U.S. sanctions. The French, German and British agreed with Russia and China on Sept. 25 to try to set up a new payment system that would allow oil companies and other businesses to continue trading with Iran without having to rely on the U.S.-led global market and the dollar.

In short, they're looking for ways to redefine the broader terms of their relationships with the U.S. Thanks to Trump, Europe is seeking to permanently alter trans-

atlantic relations by ensuring that it is "a sovereign continent, not a vassal, and that means having totally independent financing instruments that do not today exist," as French Finance Minister Bruno Le Maire said on Sept. 24.

There's little reason to believe this new system will work. Whatever the Europeans build, the U.S. can always use market access to try to coerce others to do what Washington wants. The Iran deal is probably beyond saving, and the damage to U.S.-European relations will get worse.

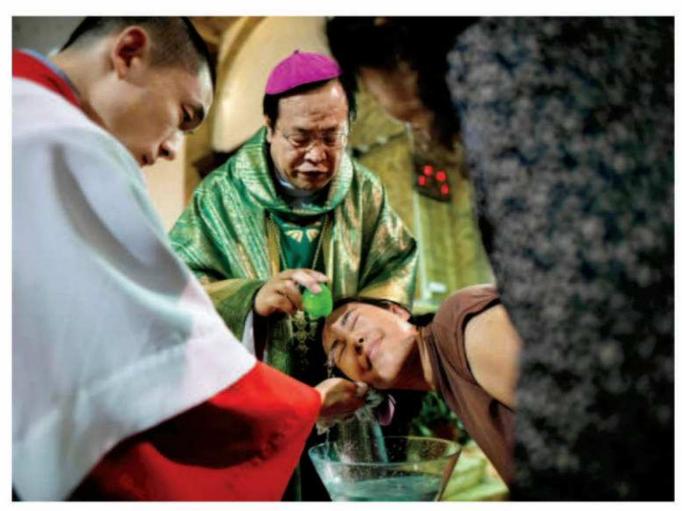
TRANSATLANTIC TENSIONS are nothing new, of course. Trump's dismal approval ratings in Europe match those of President George W. Bush in 2008. Bush's 2003 decision to invade Iraq united Germany, France and Russia in opposition to a U.S. foreign policy priority.

Yet European leaders now face greater pressure than ever to loosen the economic and security ties that bind them to the U.S. A generation has passed since the Cold War that cemented a U.S.-European partnership. And even Bush didn't question the value of NATO or threaten to wage a large-scale trade war on European partners

trade war on European partners.

These issues, plus the increasingly bitter feud over the Iran nuclear deal, don't add up to a total severing of the transatlantic tether. Leaders of France, Germany and the U.K. won't consistently agree on when and how to engage Washington. Central European leaders like Hungary's Viktor Orban and Poland's Andrzej Duda still have warm relations with Trump. This is more a fraying of U.S.-European ties than a severing.

But the Western diplomats and foreign policy-makers who chuckled during Trump's speech had better understand that the momentum is with the U.S. President and his populists and patriots, not with the globalists and multilateralists. And that divide is growing larger by the day.



Bishop Joseph Li Shan baptizes a woman at the South Cathedral in Beijing on Sept. 22

THE BULLETIN

In the battle over 'underground bishops,' China and the Vatican reach a deal

AFTER DECADES OF DISPUTE, THE VATIcan and the Chinese government have reached a provisional deal over which of them has the authority to appoint bishops in China, the Vatican announced on Sept. 22. As part of the deal, Pope Francis has recognized the legitimacy of seven previously excommunicated, Beijingappointed bishops. The Pope clarified on Sept. 25 that he will have final say over the naming of new bishops put forward by the communist government, but many details of the agreement remain unclear.

20TH CENTURY SCHISM The Vatican and Beijing cut diplomatic ties in 1951, shortly after the Communist Party took power—though the Vatican kept relations with self-governing Taiwan, which China considers a renegade province. Since then, two parallel churches have emerged in China, splitting the nation's 10 million to 12 million Catholics between them: the official state-controlled Catholic Church, and a series of underground congregations led by over 30 bishops loyal only to the Vatican.

what the Pope's recognition of the bishops appointed by the Chinese government means for those bishops. For some, like Cardinal Joseph Zen, the former Archbishop of Hong Kong, the Vatican's agreement represents a betrayal of those who remained loyal to the papacy despite persecution. Others have criticized the Pope for caving in to the demands of an authoritarian state with a record of religious intolerance and human-rights abuses.

THE FAITH'S FUTURE Pope Francis may not have had many options. In the past 50 years, Protestantism has overtaken Catholicism in China, with at least twice as many practicing the former. Francis has focused on outreach, and so, in the eyes of some, his engagement with China represents a success where his predecessors failed. The deal is still an interim one, and many details are not public, but the Pope expressed optimism that it will prove to be worth any compromises. "Let us pray," he said, "for those who do not understand."—ALEJANDRO DE LA GARZA

NEWS

Floodwaters shut down power plant

In the aftermath of Hurricane Florence, water breached a dam and flooded two deposits of toxic coal ash at a Duke Energy power plant near Wilmington, N.C., prompting the plant's shutdown on Sept. 21. The company says no ash spilled into the Cape Fear River, but environmental advocates disagree.

Indian court backs identity system

India's Supreme Court ruled Sept. 26 that the Aadhaar system, a biometric database containing fingerprints and eye scans of more than 1 billion Indians, does not violate the right to privacy. But the court also said the nationwide scheme could not be compulsory for access to bank accounts or cellphone connections.

Dallas police officer is fired after shooting

Weeks after killing her neighbor Botham Shem Jean, officer Amber Guyger was fired from the Dallas police force on Sept. 24. Guyger, who has been charged with manslaughter, says the Sept. 6 shooting was the result of her mistakenly entering Jean's apartment thinking it was her own.

The Brief News

NEWS TICKER

Thousands arrested in Ethiopia

Ethiopia said Sept. 24
it had arrested more
than 1,200 people
and sent many to
military camps for
"rehabilitation" after
an outburst of ethnic
violence near the
capital, Addis Ababa.
At least 28 died in
clashes following the
return of 1,500 fighters
from a formerly exiled
rebel group, the Oromo
Liberation Front.

Music-tech acquisitions consolidate industry

Two massive deals announced Sept. 24 have merged major music-tech players. SiriusXM said it will buy digital radio company Pandora in a deal valued at \$3.5 billion, while Apple has finished acquiring Shazam, a popular app used to identify music that's playing.

Climate change kills ancient moss

Ancient moss beds are dying in East
Antarctica because of climate change, according to a study published Sept. 24.
While West Antarctica and the Antarctic Peninsula are some of the fastest-warming places on earth, the shifting climate has left East Antarctica colder, windier and drier.

GOOD QUESTION

Could a rule change make green cards harder to get?

UNDER A NEW FEDERAL RULE BEING proposed by the Trump Administration, immigrants who use public benefits could be ineligible for legal status in the U.S. That would be a big new change for U.S. immigration law, and it hinges on redefining one very old phrase: *public charge*.

The notion that immigrants should be self-sufficient is already ingrained in American law. The government has long looked at how likely someone is to become a public charge—a person who relies on public assistance to survive—when determining whether he or she will be allowed to come to or stay in the country. That exact phrase has been in use in U.S. immigration law for more than a century.

But since the late 1990s, the federal government has defined public charges as people who meet a standard of being "primarily dependent on the government for subsistence" via cash assistance or long-term institutional care. The Trump Administration's rule, which would not require congressional approval, would change that standard, principally by extending the category to recipients of noncash benefits such as Medicaid, public housing or food stamps. It could thus become harder for immigrants who use such programs to get green cards, or for those who might use them in the future to be admitted to the U.S.

As leaked versions of the proposal have floated around over the past few months, advocates have expressed concern that it could have a chilling effect in the immigrant community, leading people to disengage from the services they need, like benefits for children born in the U.S. as citizens. Some say the shift has already begun.

Lanre Falusi, a pediatrician in Washington, D.C., and spokeswoman for the American Academy of Pediatrics, says she has personally encountered families opting out of nutritional programs for kids out of fear over their future immigration status.

Researchers at the Migration Policy Institute have also argued that the rule could serve as a "modern-day version" of the National Origins Act of 1924—which restricted immigration from certain countries in order to reduce the nonwhite population.

But supporters of the proposed rule (which does contain exceptions, for example, for refugees) say its primary purpose is merely to reduce strains on American taxpayers. In a statement on Sept. 22, Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen said the rule will "promote immigrant self-sufficiency and protect finite resources by ensuring that they are not likely to become burdens on American taxpayers."

The rule has not yet been published to the federal register, but DHS says that will happen in the coming weeks. Once it is published, the public will have 60 days before it's finalized to comment—and there's no question both sides will have lots to say.

—MAYA RHODAN

SURVEY

Youth's truths

Researchers at consulting firm Ipsos surveyed thousands of young people from 15 countries about how they see the world. Here, some of what they found.

—Precious Adesina



CAREERS

More than a quarter of teens in Kenya and Nigeria said that if they could grow up to have any career, they'd become doctors—in contrast to 5% in Britain, where the most popular response was soccer player.



DEVICES

Globally, an average of 63% of young respondents have smartphones. Youth in Russia reported the highest level, 94%. For non-smart mobile phones, the rate there was 15%. (Some young Russians own both.)



THE FUTURE

Over nine-tenths of teenagers in Kenya, Mexico, China, Nigeria and India felt optimistic about their futures, while young people in France (69%) and Sweden (65%) proved the most pessimistic.



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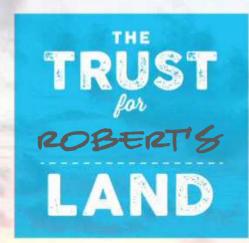
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Milestones

DIED

Hall of Fame NFL receiver **Tommy McDonald**, at 84, on Sept. 24. The Philadelphia Eagles star had suffered from dementia for several years.

ANNOUNCED

The planned resignation of Instagram co-founders Kevin Systrom and Mike Krieger, on Sept. 24. The company they founded was bought by Facebook in 2012; insiders reported that the news followed internal disputes over Instagram's autonomy.

ARRESTED

3-D-gun designer Cody Wilson, who has been accused of sexually assaulting a minor, on Sept. 21. He was released after posting a \$150,000 bond.

DETAINED

Russian opposition leader **Alexei Navalny**, moments after finishing a 30-day jail sentence, on new protestrelated charges.

SUED

Walmart, by the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, on Sept. 21, for alleged discrimination against pregnant employees.

RESTORED

Grizzly bears, to the endangered-species list, after a U.S. district court judge ruled on Sept. 24 that the federal government did not use the best available science when it removed the bears from the list last year.



Cosby, after a Pennsylvania judge sentenced him to three to 10 years in prison for sexual assault, on Sept. 25

SENTENCED

Bill Cosby Disgraced icon

DOZENS OF WOMEN HAVE ACCUSED BILL COSBY OF DRUGGING and raping them, but he'll serve prison time for only one case. On Sept. 25, Judge Steven T. O'Neill designated the 81-year-old a sexually violent predator and sentenced him to three to 10 years for assaulting Andrea Constand in 2004.

Cosby has denied all allegations and plans to appeal, but that won't detract from the significance of the day's prevailing image: the star handcuffed and led off to prison. Although most of the 60 women who accused him came forward before #MeToo erupted, Cosby is the first major celebrity to be convicted amid a nationwide reckoning on sexual misconduct. His accusers and their allies hope the verdict is a signal that times are changing, that women can be heard and perpetrators held accountable.

Cosby's fate also reveals the challenges victims face. Police declined to prosecute Constand's case in 2005, and in 2017 it led to a mistrial. Statutes of limitation will keep Cosby's other accusers from getting their day in criminal court. They weren't allowed to give victim-impact statements at his sentencing, either. But Constand could submit one. "We may never know the full extent of his double life as a sexual predator," she wrote, "but his decades-long reign of terror as a serial rapist is over." —SAMANTHA COONEY

ACQUIRED

Versace, by Michael Kors Fashion fusion

ON SEPT. 25, U.S. SPORTSwear brand Michael Kors—best known for its namesake's attainable style confirmed a \$2.1 billion takeover of Versace, the iconic Milanese fashion house known for pretty much the opposite look. The move to combine decadent, over-thetop Italian glamour and all-American ease might seem like a mismatch, but it's a bold bid by the company soon to be renamed Capri Holdings—to create a highend conglomerate to rival Europe's more established luxury giants like LVMH, Kering and Richemont.

The sale ushers in a new chapter for Versace, a family business run by Donatella Versace—sister of founder Gianni-who will be staying on as creative lead. The challenge will be for Capri to make good on the investment without the overexposure the Michael Kors brand suffered as it went from American fashion darling to discount behemoth. Fans of Versace have protested the end of an era, but if the brands' leaders proceed carefully, it could be the beginning for a new and formidable force in the world of luxury. —CADY LANG



The Brief TIME with ...

White House chronicler **Bob Woodward** takes on Trump, and is worried about what he has found **By Michael Duffy**

IT'S THE SUNDAY AFTER THE FRIDAY THAT THE Deputy Attorney General of the U.S. has been accused of talking about secretly tape-recording the President to help preserve the Republic, and I'm sitting in Bob Woodward's dining room in Washington discussing which Commanders in Chief contended with the most rebellious advisers.

Woodward's latest book, *Fear: Trump in the White House*, sold more than 1.1 million copies in its first week partly because it's by Woodward, who has been reporting this kind of behind-the-scenes stuff for years, and partly because his latest volume includes hair-curling tales of top officials working behind the scenes to foil and undermine a President they consider to be unstable.

Still neatly dressed from a television appearance earlier in the morning, Woodward has welcomed me into his Georgetown home, poured some coffee, added a generous dose of milk and made sure my tape recorder is working. "O.K.," he says, "let's get to work." So I ask: Do White House aides leak more—and resist more—than when you first talked to Richard Nixon's advisers during Watergate, 45 years ago? Woodward thinks back. "Nixon's aides went along. They resisted some things. But basically they got with the program. Obviously a lot of Trump's aides, former and current, are not with his program." But then he adds, "The word *resistance*, I don't know if that's the right word. I think it's *defiance*."

Fear lays bare so many shortcomings of Trump's decisionmaking that it's hard to contain them. Trump insists on actions but rarely follows through. He has so much trouble telling the truth that his lawyer calls him "disabled." The President undercuts and insults his aides while expecting loyalty in return. (Instead, they call him an "idiot" and a "moron.") Woodward's sources tell him that Trump knows little about economics, trade, capital flows, global supply chains, defense spending, mutual security or nuclear strategy and dismisses anyone who says they do. Top aides ignore or dismiss Trump's orders, conspiring to remove decision memorandums from his desk rather than run the risk of letting him sign them.

Much of the internal warfare goes to a clash of two very different worldviews at the heart of the Trump presidency. The President, a handful of aides WOODWARD QUICK FACTS

Student detective

detective
Working as
a janitor in
his father's
law office in
high school,
Woodward
would
"rummage
through
everything,"
uncovering
secrets.

Dogged reporter

Woodward got a two-week tryout at the Washington Post in 1970 but was too inexperienced and spent a year at a weekly.

Politics plus

Woodward has authored or co-authored 19 books, including one about John Belushi. and a big segment of the GOP base seem convinced that trade and defense alliances are robbing our nation of untold riches and that we are being played for chumps when we help keep the peace overseas. Allied against them are mainstream Republicans, economists, and a fair number of admirals and generals who believe that the rules-based system set up after World War II has made the nation stronger and invested the American people in shared global security. The story of the Administration so far is one of Trump trying to advance his populist instincts and the establishment head-butting back.

Trump is shown to be frustrated but unschooled in how to use the office and its powers. In one passage, Woodward reprints a margin note, clearly taken from a speech text, in which Trump has handwritten TRADE IS BAD. And though Trump never comes out and says that in the speech, the phrase is a perfect distillation of what he actually thinks. Where does that idea even come from? "It reflects that nationalistic, isolationistic" instinct he has, says the author, "not only America first, but America only."

For every example of Trump aides quietly conspiring to slow things down, there are others where it seems to happen organically. Explains Woodward, speaking a little cryptically (which he has, after all, earned the right to do): "Some of these people know each other and work together." Others, he says, don't.

AT 75, ROBERT UPSHUR WOODWARD doesn't need to keep doing this. His status as the best investigative reporter of his generation—O.K., maybe any generation—is assured. And in writing *Fear* he sometimes asked himself why he kept at it. Like the night he found himself driving uninvited to a Trump official's house at 11 for an unscheduled interview. That late-night conversation lasted until nearly dawn.

Ours won't go nearly that long today, in part because Woodward's story is already well known. He grew up in Illinois, attended Yale, joined the Navy, served on a ship off the coast of Vietnam and then, abandoning the idea of law school, moved to Washington to become a newspaperman. The *Post* hired him in 1971, and within a year he and Carl Bernstein were reporting the Watergate break-in. Two years later, Nixon had resigned while he and Bernstein had become world-famous.

Fear, Woodward admits, was harder to write than many of his 18 previous books because he was trying to record, and make sense of, a chaotic presidency even as it was unfolding. "Other books were done in the middle of presidencies," he says. "But not with this kind of ... intensity."

Woodward has lost little of the Midwestern optimism or the fierce objectivity that has marked his





career. Ever curious, he seems interested in everything and everyone. (He still reads *Proceedings* magazine, the geeky technical bible of naval officers.) And yet it is hard to miss the concerned tone in his voice when he reviews the stakes of this moment. People need to wake up, he has said repeatedly. He is worried about what a President with a disruptive bent will do in a genuine crisis. And he is aware, too, that Americans by a wide margin don't trust the media. He acknowledges that his omniscient narratives, based on multiple background interviews, may pose a greater challenge for readers in an era of "fake news" than they did when he wrote about previous Presidents.

That's a reminder that Woodward has reported on (and written books about) all of the past nine Presidents, a fifth of the grand total. Late in the conversation, we discuss how every President is a prisoner of the one who came before. "Presidents live in the unfinished business of their predecessors," he says. We know, for example, that Barack Obama warned Trump about the challenges that North Korea poses, and *Fear* shows that Trump felt Obama wasn't up to them. But while Trump has tried both childish bluster ("Little Rocket Man") and negotiation to meet the same challenges, he has yet to unravel the peninsular knot. Easily the most dramatic

Trump's two White House camps nearly came to blows over what to do about U.S. troops in South Korea

passage in *Fear* involves a meeting in the supersecure Pentagon "Tank" in July 2017 where Trump's two White House camps nearly come to blows over what to do about U.S. troops in South Korea. Both sides walk away, exasperated. It is hard to imagine how Trump, unable to make peace among his factions, can do a deal with North Korea's Kim.

Then there is Russia. Fear's final chapters describe how Trump's personal attorney John Dowd tried for months to talk Trump out of testifying to special counsel Robert Mueller about the Russia investigation, lest he perjure himself or worse. Dowd came to believe Trump was incapable of telling the truth and would, by testifying, only risk being indicted. Woodward reports on the astonishing steps Dowd took to keep Trump from speaking under oath, including role-playing a conversation for Mueller between his prosecutors and a clueless President. Dowd, says Woodward, may have opted for "the only road to save Trump from himself," which of course Trump does not know how to do by himself." When that failed, Dowd quit.

And there Woodward stops, until his next volume appears. He names a bunch of top Trump aides, generals and lawyers and then notes they are all "trying to save Trump from himself. And to save the country."

PATHFINDER

2000s

NEW HORIZONS

2010s

MAVEN

NASA has launched over 70 lunar and planetary missions



MANNED MISSIONS
__166



SATELLITES STUDYING EARTH



TELESCOPES/ OBSERVATORIES

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SOLAR WIND AND INTERPLANETARY

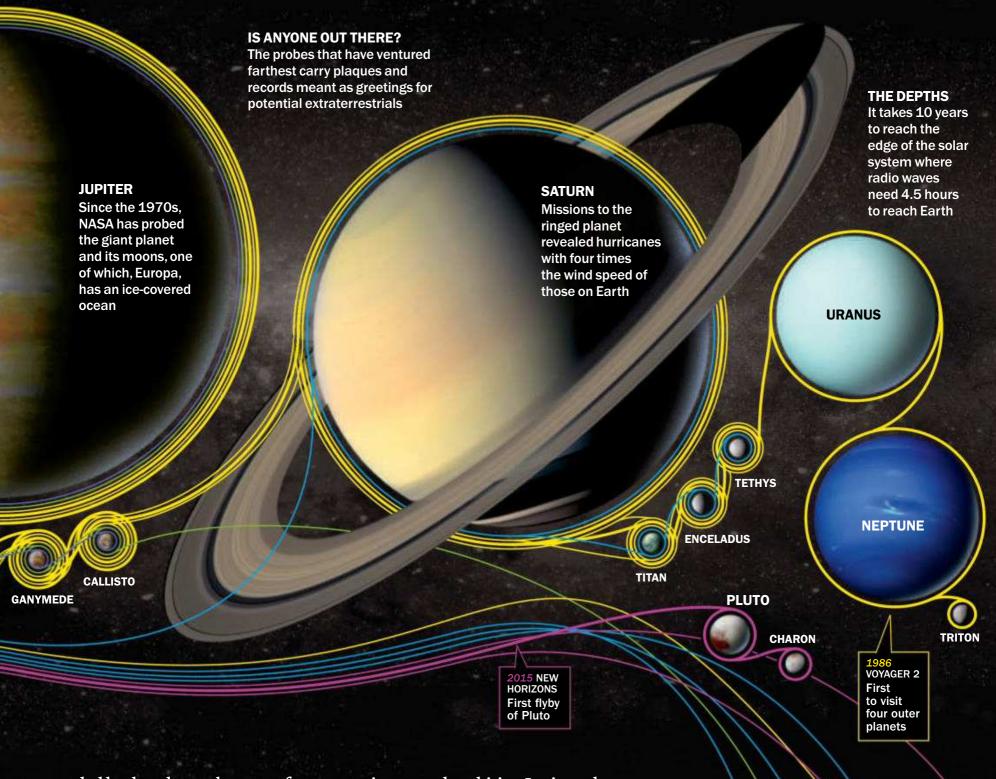
17

By Emily Barone, Jeffrey Kluger and Lon Tweeten

FOR A SPECIES THAT WAS HANDED WHAT MIGHT BE THE best of all possible planets, humans have been oddly anxious to leave it. Our itch to venture into space has been with us ever since we first realized that the points of light in the sky are actually places in the sky. Recognizing a place, for us, is enough to want to visit that place.

For millennia, that wish remained just a wish. Then, in 1957, everything changed, when the Soviet Union jolted the world with the announcement that it had placed Sputnik, the first artificial satellite, into orbit around Earth. The U.S. raced to catch up, and the following year established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, with the goal of staking America's claim to its own piece of the cosmos. In the 60 years since, NASA has done just that.

Generations of exploration have seen spacecraft bearing both the American flag and the NASA logo ranging throughout the solar system. The diagram above, color-



coded by decade, tracks most of those journeys. It is an illustration of ambition, of innovation, even of obsession.

The national passion for the moon of the 1960s and '70s resulted in not just machines making the lunar journey, but also people. Our continuing love affair with Mars has today produced nothing less than American infrastructure—rovers, landers, orbiters—on and around the Red Planet.

There have been journeys to the inner planets: the Messenger, Magellan and Mariner spacecraft to Mercury and Venus. There have, too, been expeditions to Jupiter and Saturn and their colorful flocks of moons. Asteroids and comets and the sun itself have also been studied up close.

Many of the missions are ongoing. In addition to the robots that continue to explore Mars, the Juno spacecraft is currently orbiting Jupiter; the Dawn probe is circling the dwarf planet Ceres; New Horizons, which, in 2015, became the first spacecraft to reconnoiter Pluto, is on track to reach an icy, rocky world in the Kuiper Belt this New Year's Eve. And Voyager 2—after having flown by Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune decades ago—is on its way out of the solar system altogether; its sister ship, Voyager 1, has already entered interstellar space.

The spacecraft that NASA has flown in its 60 years are in some ways more than ships. They are, in effect, spores—tiny seedlings from Earth set forth on the solar wind. Unlike true spores, of course, they can't touch down and give rise to new life. But as we visited the moon, so, eventually, we will visit other worlds. It took NASA just 60 years to inscribe its lines of robotic travels throughout the solar system. Humanity, stubbornly, will follow.

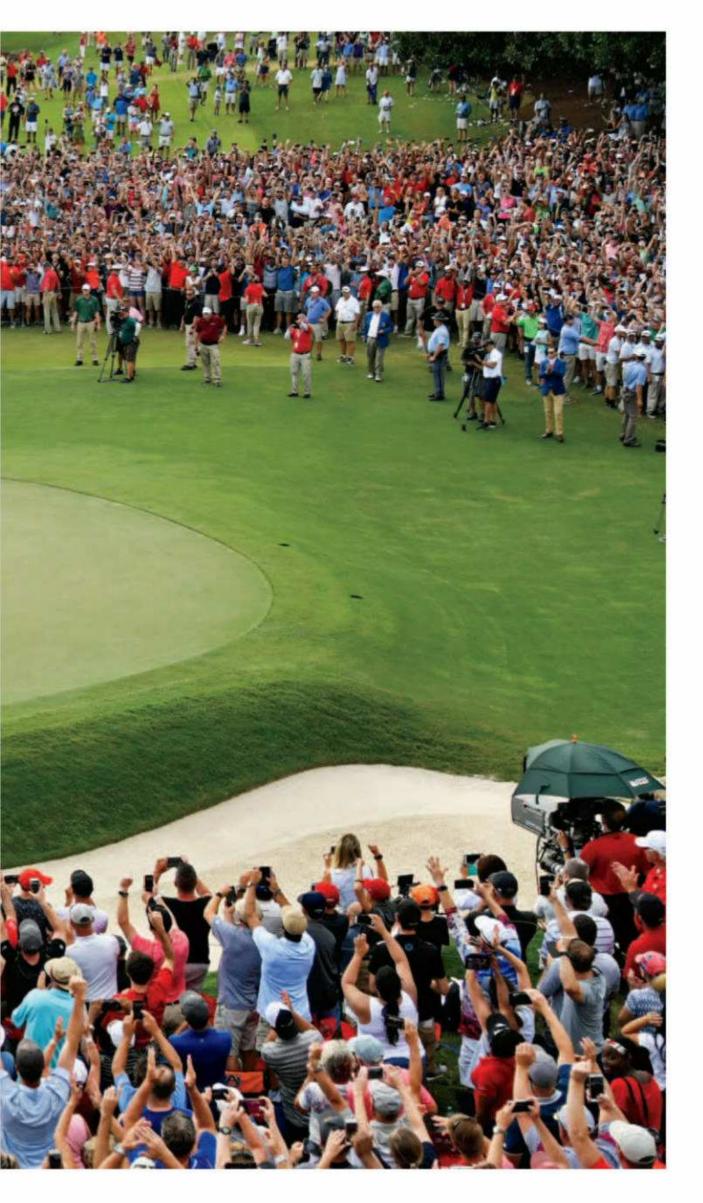


COMETS

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LightBox





SPORTS

After five grueling years, Tiger Woods roars again

ALL YEAR, TIGER WOODS KNOCKED. Tournament after tournament, the 14-time major champion contended for titles. The only step left was to actually win one.

On Sept. 23, at the Tour Championship in Atlanta, Woods reached that once routine goal for the first time in more than five years. Dressed in his Sunday victory red, Woods, 42, struck the fairways he needed.

After a run of personal troubles—including a DUI arrest last year—and four back surgeries in three years derailed his dominant career, Woods said he just wanted his life back.
Forget golf. The surgeries made it hard just to move around and lift his kids, and he wondered if a lifetime of pain lurked on the other side of his rehab. But Woods persevered, delivering a comeback that ranks with the best moments of his singular career.

Golf fans seemed to agree. Finalround ratings for the Tour Championship rose 206% over last year's. And on the 18th hole in Atlanta, hundreds of fans trailed Woods on the fairway as he approached the East Lake Golf Club green, a win all but in hand. "I just didn't want to get run over," he joked afterward. "Tiger! Tiger!" the people shouted. The pandemonium seemed to surprise Woods, who tried not to tear up on the green. With his flock looking on, Woods tapped in a par putt to clinch victory and lifted both arms into the air. A champion again, with the promise of much more to come. —SEAN GREGORY

With the masses looking on, Woods celebrates his win at the Tour Championship in Atlanta on Sept. 23

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS CONDON—PGA/GETTY IMAGES

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TheView

CLIMATE

OIL COMPANIES SEE GREEN

By Justin Worland/Hobbs, N.M.

President Trump has repeatedly repudiated the Paris Agreement on climate change and panned the science that underpins it. But oil companies have moved in the other direction, saying they want to address the issue. The evidence of this development can be found in the oil fields of the Permian Basin, which is

INSIDE

WHAT SATELLITE IMAGES CAN REVEAL ABOUT THE WORLD'S CITIES WHY PROMOTING
POPULARITY ON SOCIAL MEDIA
CAN BE POISONOUS

HOW TO HAVE YOUR KID GO TO COLLEGE—AND NOT GO BROKE

The View Opener

the home of the U.S. oil boom and where Occidental Petroleum has major operations.

The oil there will soon be used as one might expect: to help power your car, fly a jetliner or form the feedstock of myriad consumer products, thus releasing carbon dioxide, which is the primary driver of global warming. But if Occidental—better known as Oxy—succeeds in carrying out its long-term vision, the site will also keep man-made carbon from driving climate change.

For Oxy, the math is simple. The oil field here, just five miles from the Texas border, is in a region that was recently considered tapped out and unprofitable. By injecting carbon dioxide into the field, the company both frees up oil, helping its bottom line, and

stores CO2 underground, keeping it from contributing to climate change. In total, the company annually stores the amount of CO₂ equivalent to the emissions of a small state like Hawaii or Maine. Occidental has used this process for years, but the company wants to expand it and

increase the amount of man-made carbon it stores. Carbon-capture technology—like this and others—is a leading climate-change solution, the company says. "There's no way we can cap global warming by the 2° that was discussed in the Paris Accord without carbon capture," Oxy CEO Vicki Holub told TIME.

Oxy is not alone. The initiative comes as policymakers, scientists and activists increasingly grapple with how to treat oil companies. While science shows that the world must wean itself from the fossil fuel, much of the global economy depends on it, making an overnight transition impossible.

That reckoning has driven oil and gas companies to position themselves as part of the solution to addressing climate change. On Sept. 24, Oxy, ExxonMobil and Chevron formally joined a coalition of some of the world's biggest energy companies in the Oil and Gas Climate Initiative (OGCI). The group, which has committed \$1 billion to funding promising energy ventures to reduce emissions, announced a goal to cut their release of methane, the second most prevalent greenhouse

gas, by one-third by 2025. The move contrasts sharply with those of the Trump Administration, which recently ditched an EPA rule aimed at tackling methane emissions.

MANY CLIMATE-CHANGE ACTIVISTS and policymakers remain wary. The oil industry has a long history of working to slow efforts to combat climate change, with tactics including the spreading of false information about the science. Even today, as companies acknowledge the reality of global warming, their SEC filings list climate regulation as a potential threat.

"The best way to address climate change is to aggressively decline our burning of fossil fuels," says Jesse Bragg, an activist at Corporate Accountability. "We need to force them."

> But there's reason to believe that these same companies now want to be part of the solution. They see regulation coming-and say it's better to get a solution that allows their businesses to persist.

> Despite Trump's regulatory rollbacks, companies with global operations already face

stringent climate rules in places like the E.U. And most key players believe it won't be long before a Democrat or moderate Republican acts in the U.S. "Ultimately, there will be a carbon price," says Holub, referring to the policy tool economists commonly recommend to reduce emissions. She says that once that's the case, Oxy's strategy "would be an advantage."

The most pragmatic members of the climate community say they will work with oil where they can. "We need to engage with all the actors," Patricia Espinosa, head of the U.N. climate-change body, told TIME at an oil and gas conference this year.

But others focus on the big changes the industry will need to undergo. According to them, major oil companies need to further efforts to track and report emissions, something the OGCI consortium says it is working to improve. Then the companies need to align their climate programs with the science of climate change. That means grappling with the biggest challenge yet: admitting that oil consumption needs to peak and then decline and do so sooner rather than later.



An oil well near Wink, Texas, in the Permian Basin

▶ Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

Prisoners put to work

In an excerpt from his new book, American Prison, Shane Bauer writes that the 13th Amendment's preserving slavery as punishment for a crime helped entice companies to seek cheap imprisoned laborers "in part because ... they could be driven by torture."

A new view from above

Remote-sensing scientists and co-authors of the book City Unseen Karen C. Seto and Meredith Reba write about how they use satellite infrared images to reveal changes that the human eye alone cannot see in cities around the world, like expansion and resource usage over time. They write. "We need many perspectives to make better decisions about our urban futures."

Healing in Myanmar

"At its most base level, justice involves acknowledgment of responsibility," co-writes the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Myanmar, Yanghee Lee, of reconciliation processes in the country. She adds, "Democracies do not allow impunity to flourish."



Popularity on social media? Not cool

By Katy Steinmetz

FOLLOWER COUNTS ON TWITTER HAVE BECOME A fashionable currency—something that prominently displays a person's clout and even generates income for users with big enough numbers. Yet on Sept. 20, one of those "influencers" sent a tweet criticizing the popularity contest that such metrics create. "[We] should be able to participate in social media without having to show how many followers or likes we have," wrote uber-celebrity Kanye West. "This has an intense negative impact on our self worth."

Not only that. As Twitter, along with other social-media platforms, continues to grapple with issues ranging from hate speech to disinformation, academics are warning that "scores" like follower counts and retweet tallies may be contributing to a culture of mindless outrage and even making users more susceptible to manipulation. Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey has himself said the company is evaluating the problematic "incentives" the platform's design creates.

Humans are social creatures, in constant search of information about whether they belong, says Jay Van Bavel, an associate professor of psychology at New York University. And these features function as tantalizing "signs of status." It feels bad when a post doesn't get any likes. And when the counts go up, users get bursts of pleasure. So people are therefore encouraged to do whatever it takes to make those numbers grow. "This is how rats work. Press a lever, get a pellet," Van Bavel says. "The human brain is structured the same way."

And what's the best way to get those ego boosts?

Unfortunately, studies suggest that sensational, polarizing content tends to receive more response. In his research, Van Bavel has found that tweets containing strong moral and emotional language what he sums up as "moral outrage"—are about 20% more likely to get retweeted. This correlates, he says, with the fact that politicians on the ideological extremes have bigger followings than their moderate peers.

If being nuanced yields crickets, it's easy to see how users can get into a cycle where they're constantly trying to find things to be outraged about instead. Worse still, algorithms that promote popular content may spread the types of posts that make people angriest, says Yale psychologist Molly Crockett. In turn, this can inhibit outrage's social usefulness: to deter people from doing things that others strongly dislike. When everything is worthy of outrage, Crockett says, then effectively nothing is.

This makes people vulnerable to exploitation. If bad actors in Russia or elsewhere know that users will respond to extreme claims, Van Bavel says, they can use that psychology to spread false news. And in the race to get likes, users may share links they've never read or even information they know is untrue. MIT cognitive scientist David Rand has found that even people who say it's very important to share only vetted stuff will spread inaccurate information on platforms like Facebook. The prospect of getting "immediate good social feedback," Rand says, can be overwhelming.

so what can sites like Twitter do? It's hard to imagine the elimination of defining features like follower counts and likes totals, indeed because they make users feel good and encourage time spent on the site (all of which helps the company's bottom line). West's tweet raised one idea, which could have an impact on how and what people share: make the display of those numbers optional.

The company is in the midst of figuring out how to measure the "health" of conversation on the platform, and that may also yield fresh ideas. Experts suggest there may be ways to gamify the system so that users are incentivized to do things like produce "Eureka!" moments or to spread fact checks. Twitter is already experimenting with ideas like promoting alternative viewpoints and labeling bots, for a start.

Figuring out how to quantify the quality of discussion on social media—and then make it better is a monumental task. But in a recent appearance on Capitol Hill, Dorsey suggested that it is also an existential one. And he expressed a willingness to do whatever it takes to improve that metric once the company has it. "Otherwise," he said of Twitter, "no one is going to use it in the first place."







ILLUSTRATION BY YAO XIAO FOR TI

The View Parenting



MONEY

How to help your kids get a great education—and not go broke

By Stuart Vyse

high school students are now back to classes, resuming the quest for a college education and the good life beyond. But it seems too many of them are mortgaging their futures to get there. At \$1.4 trillion, student loans now represent the second largest pile of total household debt—topped only by mortgages. For parents hoping to provide their children with more bountiful lives than their own, that should be a warning.

College is still a good incomeboosting strategy. For example, a recent study of the University of Texas system found that three years after graduation, bachelor's-degree holders earned almost twice as much as their high-schoolgraduate peers. But if you also have to make a large monthly loan payment for a decade, are you really getting ahead? Some measures say no.

There is growing evidence that ballooning student-loan debt is slowing the progress of college graduates toward other features of the American Dream: getting married, buying a car or a home or even just moving out of their parents' place. Part of the explanation for these trends is simply that there is less money

left over after the monthly student-loan payment is made, but home and auto purchases are also likely affected by the damaged credit ratings of those who get behind on student-loan payments. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York estimates that, shockingly, approximately 22% of student loans in the repayment phase are more than 90 days delinquent or in default. All of this is consistent with recent studies showing that millennials are doing worse than their baby-boomer parents did at the same stage of life.

This is the too-often ignored story of college life. How can parents help their children reach a much happier fate? Here are a few suggestions:

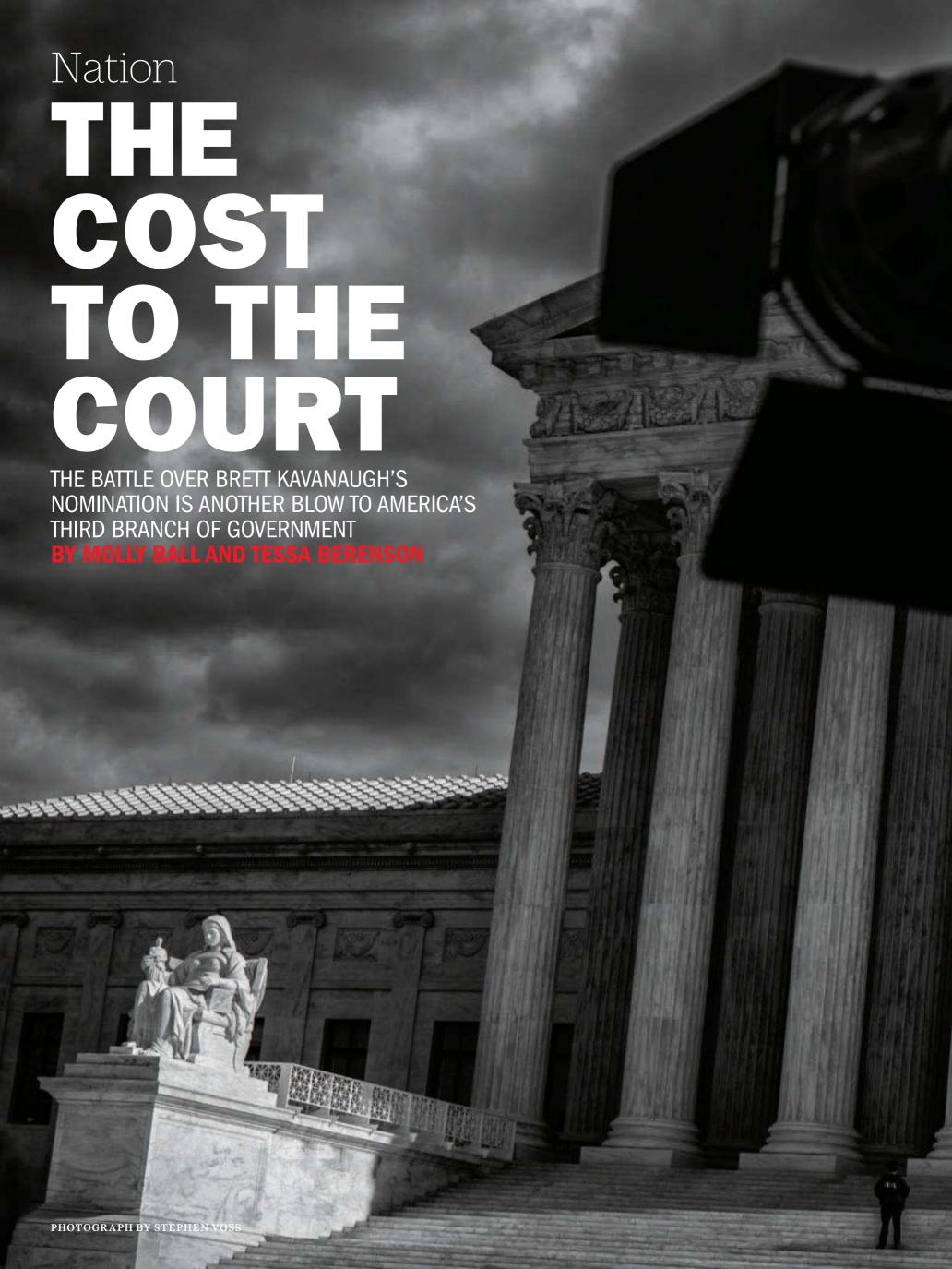
- START EARLY. Long before high school, have serious discussions with your children about college costs and financing. This should be an essential part of their basic financial education about work, spending, saving and debt. If you want to establish realistic goals, the junior year of high school may be too late to have these conversations.
- ENCOURAGE ACTION. Even if you are

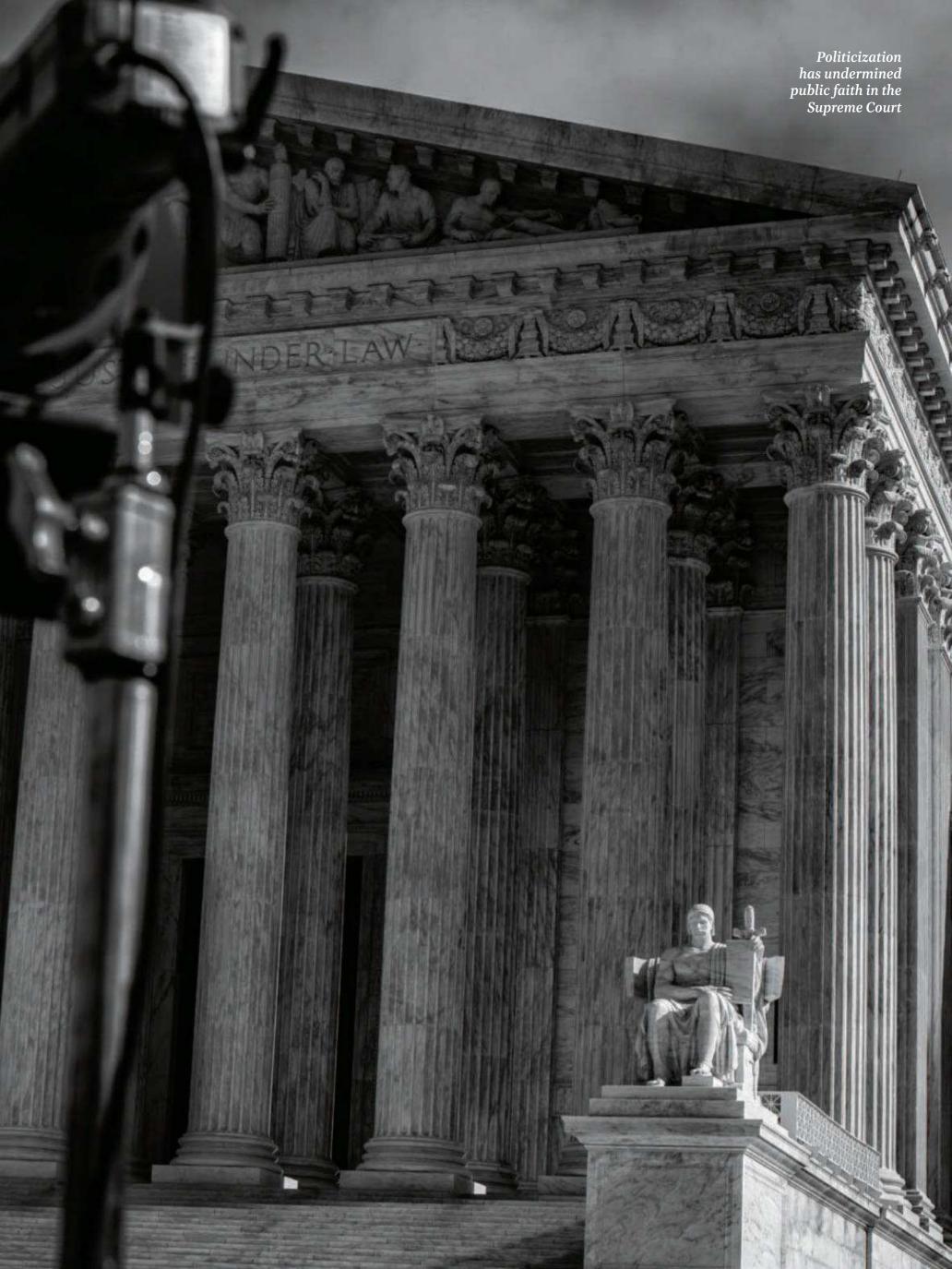
lucky enough to be able to cover your child's entire college education—but especially if you are not—require that they open a savings account and work part-time and summer jobs to cover some of the costs (books, fees, spending money and the like). Giving young people an early understanding of the value of work will help them appreciate the cost of debt after college. Multiple studies show that young people who are low on financial literacy make poorer borrowing decisions.

- DOWNPLAY PRESTIGE. Insist on colleges that you and your student can afford. There is some evidence that students who graduate from more selective colleges earn higher salaries, although the data are far from clear. But the effect of college prestige is dwarfed by the impact of major. The state-school engineering graduate will almost always command a substantially higher starting salary than the private-college psychology major.
- STAY LOCAL. Over the past 40 years, in-state public-college costs have varied between 38% and 45% of the price of private colleges. To further save on costs, some students may choose to start at the local community college and transfer to the state university. No matter how you do it, there is no better bargain for a traditional college education than your state university system.
- CREATE GOALS. Make an agreement with your child that graduating debtfree or with minimal debt is an important goal. Washington Post financial columnist Michelle Singletary recently reported that by living below their means, investing in tax-advantaged college-savings plans and choosing state schools, she and her husband $\,$ were able to send all three of their children off to college debt-free. Not everyone has the benefit of a personalfinance expert in the family. But in the U.S., a high-quality, low-debt college education is still possible for most middle-class families who make the right decisions. Don't let your kids overpay and put the rest on a credit card. They'll thank you for it later.

Vyse is a psychologist and the author of Going Broke: Why Americans (Still) Can't Hold On to Their Money







THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, **LOFTY PEDESTAL OF THE BLACK-ROBED SOLONS, HAD NEVER SEEN A JOB-INTERVIEW PROCESS LIKE THIS: ALLEGATIONS** OF SEXUAL ASSAULT, THE **NOMINEE DECLARING ON CABLE NEWS THAT HE HAD BEEN A VIRGIN WELL PAST**

high school, the President declaring the whole spectacle the result of a Democratic "big fat con." But then, even before the scheduled Senate hearing on allegations of sexual assault by Brett Kavanaugh, it was clear the Kavanaugh nomination would be a historic moment for the court.

It is tempting to see l'affaire Kavanaugh as just another contemporary political carnival, replete with angry protests and partisan recriminations. But it could hardly have more serious consequences. The allegations themselves are shocking: multiple women have come forward with accusations of sexual assault against Kavanaugh, and he has forcefully claimed his innocence. The families of Kavanaugh and Christine Blasey Ford, his first accuser, are under guard to protect them from their fellow citizens. The fiasco has forced a public reckoning over privilege, the persistence of sexual trauma and the balance of power between men and women.

For the Supreme Court, the stakes go beyond Kavanaugh's fate. It's the latest evolution of a nominally non-partisan institution into an instrument of politics. In a nation divided, left and right are coming to view the court less as an interpreter of the law than as an activist imposer of moral and political outcomes. "It's no coincidence that confirmations were less contentious when the court was engaging in less political decisionmaking," says Leonard Leo, a top adviser to President Trump on judicial nominations. "When the court injects itself into lots of things that it shouldn't, and when there's lots of overreach by the court, that's an inevitable thing."

If some partisans celebrate the change, plenty of other Americans might mourn it. The court is a fragile mix of personal relationships and towering ideals. It cannot avoid being damaged by the mounting political fight, whether in the ability of its nine members to reach consensus on some of the hardest issues the country faces, or in the public trust in the result. Whoever ends up on the court, it will be called on to adjudicate the very issues-gender equality, due process and justice for victims of sexual assault—that turned the nomination of their latest potential member into a political circus.

THE COUNTRY STILL APPROVES of the Supreme Court more than it does most other pillars of society, but not as much as



it once did. And during the closest historical parallel to today's crisis, there was a particularly dramatic drop. In early 1991, before Anita Hill testified that now Justice Clarence Thomas had sexually harassed her at work, public confidence in the court was at 48%. After the Hill hearings that October, it dropped by nearly 10 percentage points. Earlier this year, it was measured at 37%. That's better than the 11% who approve of Congress and the 23% with confidence in newspapers, but far below the military and churches, and about on par with the presidency, the ultimate political institution.

A series of major decisions in the past several decades have given partisans on both sides something to dislike about the court, from abortion rights to campaign finance to health care. In 1973, Roe v. Wade discovered an unwritten "right to pri-



Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh at his Senate confirmation hearing on Sept. 5

vacy" in the Constitution that made abortion legal nationwide. The court gave the presidency to a loser of the popular vote, legalized sodomy and later gay marriage, allowed unlimited corporate spending on elections and expanded gun rights. Recently, the court has declared Obamacare and Trump's travel ban mostly legal, while blocking Trump's attempt to unwind President Obama's protections for young undocumented immigrants.

From the Justices' standpoint, the court was doing its job: interpreting the Constitution and body of laws without regard for who might be pleased or annoyed by the outcome. But partisans care primarily about outcomes, and Americans passionate about the high-profile issues the court was deciding increasingly channeled their frustrations into the political process. The Senate that had tradition-

ally granted Presidents wide latitude to nominate simpatico Justices began to vet them more aggressively. In 1987, Robert Bork became famous when his nomination was torpedoed by his perceived ideology, though he wasn't the first nominee rejected on that basis.

In the ensuing years, however, most Justices were confirmed by comfortable margins. Thomas got 11 Democratic votes, and the nominees of Presidents Bush and Obama got between four and 22 votes from members of the opposing party. Meanwhile, the influential Federalist Society, irked by what it perceived as the liberal bent of the judiciary, began a long-term project to stock the pipe-

line with conservative judges, and the court became a rallying cry for Republican politicians. In 2013, frustrated by the GOP's use of the 60-vote filibuster threshold to thwart Democratic appointments, then Senate majority leader Harry Reid changed the rules to allow most positions—but not the Supreme Court—to be filled with a simple majority.

With the death of the court's conservative lion, Antonin Scalia, in 2016, Obama had the opportunity to install a liberal jurist and reshape the court for a generation. But Republicans had taken over the Senate majority and GOP leader Mitch McConnell declared that the Senate would not vote on Obama's nominee, the center-left federal judge Merrick Garland. The move paid off: then candidate Trump used a list of conservative prospective Justices compiled by the Federalist Society to help rally the otherwise dispirited GOP base in the 2016 election. When he won, Trump kept his promise with the nomination of Neil Gorsuch.

To get Gorsuch confirmed to what Democrats considered a stolen seat, Mc-Connell again changed the rules, making a simple majority the threshold to confirm even high-court nominees. And with that, the transformation of Supreme Court nominations into pitched partisan battles was complete. In September, Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg lamented that confirmation hearings have become "a highly partisan show," with Republicans and Democrats both moving "in lockstep." She added, "I wish I could wave a magic wand and have it go back."

NOW, LESS THAN 50 DAYS from the midterm elections, the politics could hardly be more intense. Even before the allegations, Kavanaugh was the least popular nominee in a generation, according to a CNN analysis. With a potential Democratic wave looming, the GOP faces a dilemma. If they vote to confirm Kavanaugh, they risk alienating female and independent voters. If they don't, they'll face the ire of their base. As the allegations against Kavanaugh swirled, Trump tweeted a quote by conservative commentator Rush Limbaugh: "You can kiss the MIDTERMS goodbye if you don't get highly qualified Kavanaugh approved."

The situation is also fraught for some Democrats, particularly those in red states, who must balance their conservative constituents with an angry liberal base. Victory for the Democrats working to defeat Kavanaugh likely would be short-lived: Trump's next pick would be another conservative nominee whose judicial philosophy they won't like any better than Kavanaugh's.

"This process is disastrously broken," says Connecticut Senator Richard Blumenthal, a Democrat on the Judiciary Committee. On that, at least, both sides can agree. Outgoing Arizona Senator Jeff Flake lamented, "However this vote goes, I am confident in saying it will forever be steeped in doubt."

The court has always been the most hermetic of the three branches of government, a mysterious and secret world into which the public gets only stray glimpses. The Justices rarely speak publicly, and they take pains not to weigh in on partisan matters. There are no cameras allowed in the courtroom, and few leaks come out of the private deliberations. The judges' robes are themselves a statement—that it is their role that matters, not their personalities.

What effect the heightened politicization of Supreme Court nominations will have on its inner workings is a crucial question. Whether or not Kavanaugh has been treated fairly, he won't be the last high-court hopeful to face an acrimonious partisan gauntlet. "It is a shame you can do this to a person's life," Trump said on Sept. 25. "Who is going to want to go before the system to be a Supreme Court judge or even a politician?"

The court asks us to trust a process we cannot see. More than the other two branches of government, which are held accountable to voters and can write laws and make policy, the Supreme Court derives its very power from the public's willingness to respect and abide by its decisions. The extreme exposure of modern politics makes that harder and harder-even if it isn't entirely new. In 1832, when President Andrew Jackson disagreed with a Supreme Court decision under Chief Justice John Marshall, he sneered, "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." Like all our institutions, the court works only if we all believe in it. -With reporting by Alana Abramson and Brian BENNETT/WASHINGTON

VIEWPOINT

WHEN THE SUPREME COURT IS EVERYTHING

By Roger Pilon

THE CIRCUS SURROUNDING THE Supreme Court nomination of Judge Brett Kavanaugh has shown beyond any doubt how deeply divided America is. And when the dust settles, we'll still be divided. So too will be the court. To see why, and to fix this, we need to start at the beginning.

In a nutshell, our founding documents were designed mainly to secure liberty under limited government, especially after the Civil War amendments were added to the Constitution, checking what states could do. We didn't always abide by those ideals, but generally we lived life in the private sector, our relationships ordered by common-law principles of property and contract.

That started to change as progressives promoted social and economic change through statutory law in the early decades of the 20th century. The courts rejected much of that legislation, most sharply during President Franklin Roosevelt's first term. But they subsequently grew deferential to Congress, the President and the states, which allowed government to grow unchecked—and led to a conservative backlash.

Thus, we now have two jurisprudential schools: liberals urging judicial activism to promote "evolving liberal values," and conservatives urging "judicial restraint." Neither camp is grounded in the Constitution as understood during our first 150 years. Both have bought into the New Deal court's rejection of limited government—liberals because they like it, conservatives because they think it a lost cause. Yet those vast government programs still deeply divide us.

IS THERE ANY HOPE for reconciliation? For the moment, the battles continue. The growth of government has politicized so much in life, including those matters that once were



Hundreds of activists have stormed Senate office buildings to protest Kavanaugh

sorted out privately, under the easily understood principles like property and promise that allowed for liberty to flourish. When politics determines the ordinary issues of life—jobs, retirement, health care, day care, education, housing and more—and the political battles over those end up in the courts, it's no wonder that we're in a battle for the Supreme Court, and that those who fear losing the battle resort to desperate means.

The founders understood this, which is why they left most of life beyond government's reach. It's time to start rethinking whether we want to be "all in this together," dependent on a government that is increasingly dysfunctional and going broke. However the issues immediately before us are resolved, we need to focus on the bigger constitutional questions underlying them.

Pilon is vice president for legal affairs at the Cato Institute and founding director of Cato's Robert A. Levy Center for Constitutional Studies



FIRST PERSON

WHAT A CAREER OF NAVIGATING MEN'S POLITICAL SCANDALS HAS TAUGHT ME

By Jennifer Palmieri

FOR REASONS I HAVE YET TO FULLY comprehend, I have found myself in the middle of some of the most tumultuous confrontations between politics, sex and power over the past 20 or so years. Early in my career, Monica Lewinsky was my intern in the Clinton White House. I testified in front of Ken Starr's grand jury and fought President Clinton's impeachment as a White House deputy press secretary. I also helped former presidential candidate John Edwards and his wife Elizabeth manage the press around his extramarital affair. Most recently, I was Hillary Clinton's communications director in the 2016 presidential campaign, which often felt like a primal battle between the sexes. And the women's side lost.

For those of us concerned that Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh could be the vote that undoes Roe v. Wade, the Trump White House's and congressional Republicans' efforts to intimidate and rush the women who accuse Kavanaugh of sexual assault have been particularly galling. This is the rail-

roading of women for the purposes of putting a man on the Supreme Court to control their bodies. All can look bleak.

But viewing today's turmoil through the lens of my own experiences, I see a brighter picture coming into focus.

AT THE TIME, I struggled to make sense of what I saw. Three years after welcoming Monica as my intern, I watched her become the most famous and ridiculed woman in America. I knew the relationship Clinton pursued with her was not just inappropriate because he was married but also represented an abuse of his power. And while I didn't then, and do not now, think President Clinton should have been impeached, it is clear that Monica and her family were treated as collateral damage in a fight that was all about men and power.

That dynamic has been played time and again, as political opponents use sex scandals to wound men: the controversies are all about how the man's behavior reflects on him, not whether the woman involved is hurt. In the #MeToo era, though, this has changed significantly. Charges are being brought not by competing male politicos but instead by the women who have been harmed.

Some have speculated Republicans' treatment of Christine Blasey Ford in particular proved they learned nothing from their poor treatment of Anita Hill nearly 27 years ago. But I think their behavior shows they gained an important lesson: when a woman confronts a man's attempts to intimidate her, she reclaims the power he is attempting to steal.

The Republicans may have gotten Clarence Thomas' confirmation in 1991. But the image of Hill, dignified in the face of questions meant to humiliate her, haunts the Senators who interrogated her and helped ignite a wave of enthusiasm that brought a new class of female Senators to Congress. This is not a result these men would relish repeating.

I ADMIT TO HAVING felt shame and confusion in my own career—in being expected to answer for the behavior of men for whom I worked, wondering if it was possible to feel sympathy for all Monica endured without being disloyal to President Clinton and his family, who I thought were also treated unfairly and endured tremendous pain.

Twenty years ago, this confusion and shame manifested itself in a dream I would have where I ran into Monica and did not know what to say. I would try to speak, and no words would come out.

Last year, that dream came to life when, by chance, I ran into her at an event. I was relieved that 20 years on, I knew what to say to her. I told her that I was sorry. Sorry that she had endured so much trauma. Sorry for how her life was used as a means to a political end.

A path forward for women is clearer to me now than it was decades ago: refuse to be shamed or held accountable for actions taken by men. Unlike the other means that men have used to keep women down, shame is entirely within our control to defeat.

Palmieri was the director of communications for Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential campaign and is the author of Dear Madam President: An Open Letter to the Women Who Will Run the World





BY THE TIME I ARRIVE IN STOCKHOLM, I KNOW TO EXPECT THE DADS.

Enlightened Swedish dads, with their easy security in their masculinity, are literally a state-sponsored selling point. But nothing can really prepare you for them, not even living, as I did for a decade, in New York City's performative-dad capital of Park Slope, Brooklyn. On the scrubbed streets of Stockholm are dads balancing Joolz strollers, looking up from their cell phones to shake stuffed animals in an infant's face; bearded dads in beanies with newborns on their laps at a café; dads pushing a pink bicycle up a hill as a helmeted child sulkily hoofs it.

One of the first dads I spot upon arriving in Stockholm, a burly man in a crisp button-down, who tenderly holds a small child's hand as they wait to cross the street, turns out to be international hockey superstar Peter "Foppa" Forsberg, a father of three. He is very polite as he offers me directions.

Liberated men are the vanguard of the decadeslong Swedish war on gender inequality. The country's last Prime Minister, who admittedly is also a man, adopted the label of "the first feminist government in the world." Every year, Nordic countries jostle one another for the top spot in global gender-equality rankings; over the next two weeks, more than one Swede will shamefacedly confess to me that the country recently dropped to No. 5.

Should you not have memorized the U.S.'s ranking on the most recent World Economic Forum scorecard, I'll refresh your memory: it's No. 49. Next to "days of paid parental leave" on America's scorecard is a zero. Sweden allocates 480 days per birth, with three months assigned to each parent to encourage dads to take more. It also outranks the U.S. in women's "economic participation and

opportunity" by seven points and in "political empowerment," which measures women in elected office, by 88 slots.

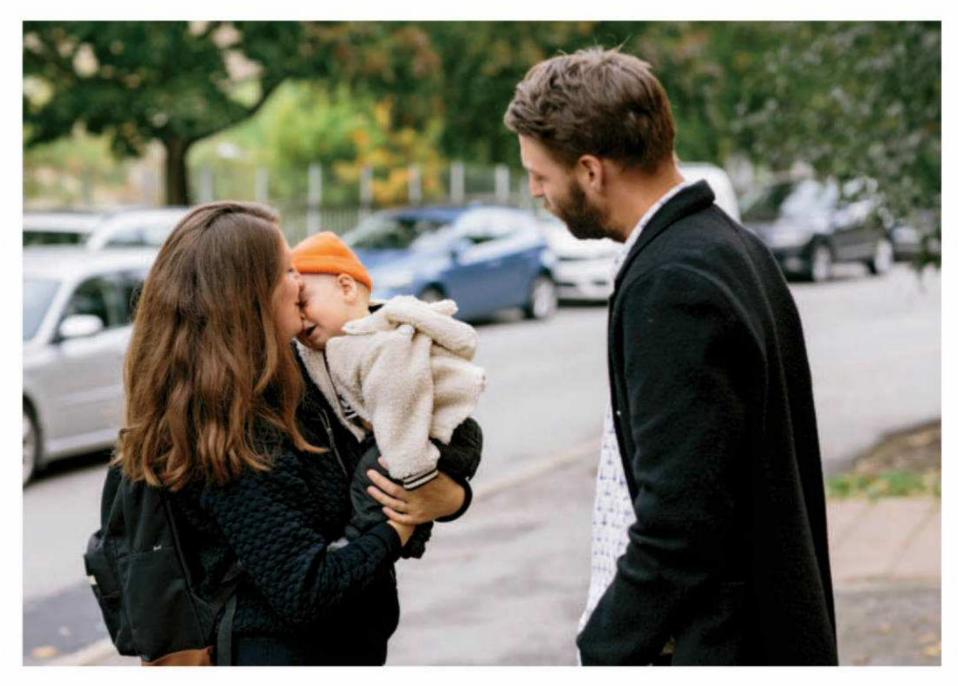
That women still make up only 20% of the U.S. Congress and 0% of the Republicans of the Senate Judiciary Committee was thrown into sharp relief, amid allegations that Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh had sexually assaulted one woman, accosted another and was present at the rape of a third. One of the Democratic women on the committee, Kamala Harris, was given the post only after Al Franken resigned under a cloud of harassment allegations.

After spending much of the past year reporting on sexual harassment and assault, including allegations against TV host Charlie Rose, I have arrived in Sweden feeling pretty bleak about men. I spent months talking to women about the men who (allegedly) did it and the (mostly) men who (definitely) enabled it, some of whom pretended in public to care about women. As a feminist, I'm supposed to believe that equality is attainable and that men can be partners, but recent revelations and presidential elections have cruelly tested my optimism.

Sweden itself has been having a reckoning with sexual abuses of power, one that has challenged its self-conception as a beacon of gender equality. "When you're living in the most gender-equal country in the world, people try to sometimes hush down, because it doesn't fit the image," says Member of Parliament Birgitta Ohlsson. Sweden's generous welfare state hasn't staved off the rising popularity of a party that blames everything, including sexual violence, on immigrants. In September, the neo-fascist Sweden Democrats won almost 18% of the vote and are vowing to block formation of a new government unless they get a say in policy.

And those directions from the famous hockey player? They're so I can go with Swedish journalist Kajsa Heinemann to a lecture on how women here are stressed from doing far more at home than men. The lecture is in Swedish, but the lopsided pie charts tell the story loud and clear. Sweden has realized that traditional parenting supercharges the gender gap and that in order to achieve equality, men have to transform too.

So I've set out to understand what the country most focused on gender equality might teach the U.S., even if it means learning that it's harder than Americans hoped. Maybe it's no accident that the gutwrenching truths of #MeToo have come at a time of massive political upheavals, of establishments of all natures being tossed out. Why not reveal a giant for an ogre, when anything seems possible in politics, including the absolute worst? Then again, we have a chance to imagine something better. What will it take for American women and men to be equal? If we can't find out in Sweden, who knows where we can?



THIS IS WHERE you say Sweden is a small and homogeneous country. It's also a mixed economy of capitalism, state ownership and regulation, which means higher taxes than Americans are used to, though probably not as high as you might think, depending on how wealthy you are. By contrast, the U.S. is large and diverse, and its government just passed tax cuts. Paid parental leave? We don't even have federally mandated sick days. Five years ago, when New York Senator Kirsten Gillibrand introduced the FAMILY Act, which would have guaranteed 12 weeks of paid leave, it didn't get much traction.

And yet looking to Sweden is an American tradition dating back to when President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent a delegation to study how the country charted a path between American capitalism and Soviet communism. A quarter-century later, another American arrived in Sweden. Her name was Ruth Bader Ginsburg, and she did not yet call herself a feminist—her time in Sweden would help change that.

In the U.S., Ginsburg had been demoted for becoming pregnant and expected to quit at childbirth. By contrast, Sweden sought to encourage women to be both workers and mothers. They'd implemented a child allowance in 1947 and nationwide paid maternity leave in 1955. Ginsburg was energized by Swedish writer Eva Moberg's article demanding to know why women had two jobs and men had only one. Men had to liberate themselves too, she argued, to do what women already did, which was everything. By the

early '70s, Ginsburg had begun her effort to convince the Supreme Court that gender discrimination was unconstitutional—and many of her clients were men who were harmed by gender stereotypes.

In 1970, noted communist Richard Nixon started talking up affordable child care. A year later, Congress passed by a wide, bipartisan margin a child-care bill. When it got to Nixon's desk, though, adviser Pat Buchanan persuaded him to block it to protect his right flank. In his veto, Nixon said he could not "commit the vast moral authority of the National Government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing over against the family-centered approach." It turned out to be a rehearsal dinner for the marriage of antigovernment and self-described "pro-family" activists, who would spend the '80s rejecting an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, telling women that feminism was to blame for all ills and stacking the courts with abortion opponents.

As for "communal approaches," being in Sweden underlined to me that, despite what one or two exceptional women has pulled off, no one can, or should, do any of this alone.

MARK KAHAIAN WAS BORN in Michigan the same year Nixon vetoed that bill. His father worked long hours; at home, he says, "it was just my mom doing everything." He went into the music business and met and married a photographer, Anna Schori. They lived in New York City and had their first child.



Maja, Martin and their child Pim in Stockholm; Martin plans to take eight months of leave



'I WAS
AWARE THAT
HAVING
KIDS IS A
COMPLETE
TRAP FOR
WOMEN.'

ANNA SCHORI

"It was cool," he says. "Then we had another child. That wasn't cool."

They were freelancers in a country where paid leave is treated like a favor, if you happen to have a full-time job with a company that offers it. After that, child care is an expensive patchwork: in 23 states it costs more than in-state public-college tuition, having risen by 65% since the early '80s. No wonder so many American women—it usually is women—stay home in those early years whether they want to or not, paying not in money but in future income and mobility. Mark and Anna were both committed to their careers so they improvised: trading off, swapping babysitting with other parents and part-time nannies. Their first home-based day-care provider got shut down by the city, so they started paying \$1,200 a month to the YMCA.

To keep the family afloat, Mark says, he "started working crazy jobs. I barely saw my kids." Every conversation he had with other parents seemed to revolve around money. Worse, he felt guilty that he wasn't pulling his weight at home. "I was aware that having kids is a complete trap for women," Anna told me. "You can fall behind and be the main caregiver." That's borne out by statistics. One study of dual-earner heterosexual couples in the U.S. found that they split the household labor pretty equally until the baby came, when women's total work hours, paid and unpaid, increased 21 hours while men added only 12.5. Studies have also shown that while college-educated men and women generally start out earning nearly the same at work, the gap widens by 55 percentage points by the end of prime childbearing years. (The gap

was 28 points for women without college degrees.)

The moment when Mark decided they had to move to Sweden, where Anna had been born and raised, was when their then 3-year-old son asked his parents if they could start eating more slowly. At this point in the story, Mark and I are sitting in a sunny café in Stockholm. I look down at what's left of my cardamom bun, anxiously chewed to a nub. Then at the judiciously nibbled pastry before him.

Anna had left Sweden at age 20 because she found it stultifying. She is one of several Swedish women I talk to who seemed to find the country's professed commitment to gender equality overly restrictive, or too self-congratulatory, or too heteronormative and too two-parent focused, or just kind of embarrassingly earnest. She's proud, she says, of making parenthood work in the dog-eat-dog U.S. until the kids were toddlers.

But it turned out that while "having it all" was being put solely on the shoulders of each individual American woman—you've come a long way, baby!— Swedes were chugging away at the collective project of equality, which they realized from the start would have to be woven into everything they did, including their welfare state. And it would have to be for the masses, not just for those who got close enough to the glass ceiling to peer through it. In Sweden, gender equality follows the same logic as the country's most famous capitalist exports, H&M and Ikea, which is that everyone should be able to afford nice things.

The Swedes realized jointly taxing married couples meant women worked less, so in 1971 they started taxing individuals. They figured out that if women felt overworked at home and their job,



there would be fewer Swedish babies, so they implemented cheap, universal child care, with a national curriculum that included gender equality. (One Swedish woman told me her family spends more to park their car in Stockholm than on day care.) The government still pays a monthly allowance to each Swedish child of about \$142 to cover the basics. Today, Sweden's birthrates, though below replacement level, are among the highest in Europe—higher than the U.S.'s—even as a higher proportion of Swedish women than American women are in the workforce. When Americans are asked why they're having fewer babies, lack of affordable child care—among other basic economic concerns—is at the top of the list, though you wouldn't know it from how little it enters the public conversation.

Sweden, prodded by feminists, saw early on that maternity leave wasn't enough and that giving only women leave created a system where women disproportionately did the household labor, so in 1974 it became the first country to implement paid paternity leave. One of the first Swedish public figures to set an example by taking paternity leave was at the time the Undersecretary of State. His name is Pierre Schori, and he's Anna's dad. He tells me he secretly thought his leave would be a good time to work on his book. "That was an illusion," he says. In the end, bringing up a kid was enough work on its own.

Anna had her own point to make, which was taking a prestigious photography assignment when her child was 2 months old. In Sweden, she says, "If you don't take the full parental leave"—all 480 days, of which women typically take about 75%—"you're a bad parent." But ask her, or literally all of the

Swedish women I interview, about whether she would trade the Swedish system for America's choose-your-own-adventure one—well, no, not when one study found that nearly a quarter of American women who give birth go back to work within two weeks.

So in 2015, two decades after she left Sweden, Anna agreed, at 40, to give the country another shot. Since paid family leave doesn't expire until a child is 8, both Mark and Anna could take leave for their two sons, now 9 and 4. Mark tells me incredulously that he gets text messages from the government reminding him to use it all. Oh, and their government-run day care, which has educational content and an in-house chef with an impressive Instagram account? Their out-of-pocket costs are \$18 a month.

Mark says his very breathing has changed. So has his experience of being a man. "There are so many layers that I keep discovering in the way that I relate with other men," he says. And "not only have I not heard a catcall, I've not even seen guys be creepy."

IN SWEDEN, it's not a secret that the country hasn't yet achieved full equality. The statistics are right there on its official government website. Women are still paid less than men for full-time work (but, I discover, the gap is 8 points narrower than in the U.S.). There are alarmingly high Swedish rape statistics (although Sweden's system encourages victims to come forward). Women are underrepresented on the boards of companies (but still represent twice the U.S.'s paltry 17%, according to Credit Suisse's global study). The number of women in Parliament has declined since 2006 (but it's still nearly half female).

Opposite page: StreetGaris board members, from left: Ronak Moaf Mirlashari, Ailin Moaf Mirlashari, Sofia Lindh, Maliha Khan, Manel Rodrick, Emma Strom and Dima Sarsour; this page: fathers and children in Stockholm play at a center where parents on leave gather to socialize



Society

Despite the country's commitment to equality, most Swedish women I talk to are eager to tell me about what falls short. A 20-year-old premed student tells me about boys who dominate biology class even when they haven't done the homework; a business-school professor describes an old-boys network of mentoring and promotion. Anna Akerlund, a producer at Sweden's national radio station whom I visit a couple of weeks into her parental leave, says she was staggered by Sweden's #MeToo moment, which happened in parallel with the U.S.'s in 2017. "My view of Sweden has changed," she says.

In November 2017, after Jean-Claude Arnault, a prominent cultural figure with ties to the Swedish Academy, was alleged to have assaulted 18 women, several members left their lifetime appointments in protest, resulting in the cancellation of the 2018 Nobel Prize in Literature. Arnault, who has denied the accusations, is currently on trial for rape. He has pleaded not guilty.

When #MeToo reached the highest echelons of Swedish society, it was no longer so easy to claim sexual assault was a problem brought by immigrants and refugees, as some on the right had. "It's not a white-man problem, it's not a brown-man problem, it's a man problem," says Leila Trulsen, the Swedishborn daughter of a Tanzanian immigrant and one of the 13 board members of the feminist group Street-Garis. The group, inspired by black women's theories of intersectional feminism and dissatisfaction with traditional Swedish feminism, was formed five years ago in the wake of riots in immigrant communities. Its young founders, immigrants and the daughters of immigrants, are furious at how the men of their communities have been scapegoated as destroying Swedish culture, including with sexual violence. (President Trump told TIME in March 2017 of Sweden taking in refugees and immigrants, "what Sweden has done to themselves is very sad.")

"The louder you speak about brown men violating women's bodies," says StreetGaris board member Dima Sarsour, 36, "the more space you will get."

But beyond #MeToo, Sweden's family-friendly policies and culture have hardly erased the expectations people bring to gender, or parenting. Member of Parliament Ohlsson, who had two children in the five years she served as a Cabinet Minister, made headlines for days with her quick return to work. One of the people who mentioned Ohlsson's short leave to me was, incidentally, Anna Schori's mother, a women's-rights advocate. "We're not animals," Maud Edgren-Schori said indignantly. Parental leave, she told me, was not about the parents, it was about the children, and in the beginning at least, children need their mothers.

Ohlsson wasn't the only new parent in her office. "I had three colleagues in the government who were

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MARK KAHAIAN

also going to be fathers for the first time or second time or third time, and there was not a debate at all about how they were supposed to deal with everything," says Ohlsson. But the judgment only made Ohlsson more determined to challenge the status quo. "Baby No. 2, I delivered her Friday," she says, "and I was back at the office on Monday."

Ohlsson says gendered expectations are one of many reasons there are fewer women in positions of power than there could be, although to reiterate, Sweden still has more than America does. "You have other problems," Ohlsson says bluntly of the U.S., "but in Sweden, it's very obvious that people say to the very ambitious woman that you should tone yourself down a bit."

Akerlund tells me she's decided to talk herself into believing that she's the dad, because none of the dads she knows feel guilty. "So if you just sometimes try to be the father, you can be a really good father," she says as she breast-feeds.

But Sweden has acted swiftly to try to address these problems: it recently changed its rape law to require verbal and nonverbal consent. Meanwhile, even after the #MeToo-related resignation of multiple members in both parties, the U.S. Congress has yet to pass any legislation policing sexual harassment in its own ranks. And though men still make more money in both countries, the Swedish government designated three months of leave per parent, limiting how much they could take at the same time to avoid the burden falling on women. Now that those three paid months of leave are use it or lose it, more men take it.

Akerlund is optimistic about the moves. "I think being a feminist," she says, "is also believing in change."

For all the work left to do, it's impossible to deny that Sweden has made progress over time. Pierre Schori, Anna's dad, told me that when he took paternity leave back in the '80s, women swarmed him, offering to help the clueless man cook and care for the kids. Now, he pointed out, the playgrounds are filled with dads.

The contrasts are clear among the families studied by Lucas Gottzen, a sociologist at Stockholm University who has conducted comparative research of parenting in the U.S. and Sweden. "U.S. mothers come home earlier than fathers, since they are working less," he says. "When the father came home at dinner, the mom had taken care of homework and dinner preparation. In Sweden it tended to be, in a dual-earner couple, you would have a practice of parents alternating pickup." American fathers wanted to be more involved, but that manifested itself mostly in helping their kids participate in sports.

"I would say culture is not changed overnight," Gottzen says. But that change didn't happen just by waiting for it.

ONE AFTERNOON after I get back from Sweden, I call up Nima Sanandaji, the author of *The Nordic* Gender Equality Paradox. The book maintains that the region's famously egalitarian approach has held women back from top management jobs, partly by discouraging entrepreneurship but also by encouraging mothers to take more time at home. He tells me excitedly that American conservatives are running with his ideas to counter the growing interest in the Scandinavian welfare state. But unlike some critics on the right who say that even in a welfare state women would choose stereotypical gender roles, Sanandaji says the government isn't giving them enough choices to succeed. "The policies that stand in the way of women are old-fashioned social democracy," he says.

Women would be better off with lower taxes, he argues, because they could hire more household help—presumably other, lower-paid women. Shrinking the size of the government, where most workers are women, would mean more women could make more money in the private sector, he says. Sanandaji also argues that you can't say the welfare state created equality in Scandinavia. If you go back to the Vikings, local culture was still far more egalitarian than in the rest of Europe.

So, I say, that might explain why the Nordic countries tried these gender-equal policies first, or why they have more of them, but why does that mean it can't be tried anywhere else? What about the other countries that don't have that cultural history but still have better-than-zero paid leave and child-care policies? France? Canada? Australia? Israel?

To my surprise, he doesn't disagree. He just wants people to know that "this model is not perfect. It has unintended consequences of limiting women's upward mobility." For example, employers, he says, might be less likely to hire a woman for a prime position out of the assumption that she's going to take a long leave.

That kind of discrimination happens in the U.S. too, I say, except women are (illegally) passed over on the assumption that they'll cut back or leave the workforce entirely after having kids. At least the Swedish woman won't lose her health insurance or her paid leave, as the pushed-out American woman would. And isn't that why Sweden wants more dads to take leave, so that women alone don't suffer the parental penalty?

Sanandaji seems skeptical that all this dad stuff will work, but he has another idea: employers could get a little subsidy or tax credit when their employees are on leave. Oh, and he thinks the government-funded preschools should be open later to accommodate moms who work long hours to climb the ladder.

So he wants more government spending? "I'm a pragmatist," he says. "I'm not a raving lunatic libertarian like you might have in the U.S." His bottom

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line: "We don't have to abolish the Nordic welfare model. We only need to adjust it."

In fact, Sweden is already adjusting. "The Sweden you visited is the Sweden where massive reforms have been done," Sanandaji says. "They have reduced the tax burden and added a tax deduction for household services. They've allowed privatized, for-profit services. One of the reasons has been this idea that this stuff is hindering women's careers." He concedes that the center-right government that was in power until 2014 wanted to cut taxes anyway, and all this gender-equality stuff "was kind of useful for them."

"I think the American system is a bit odd," he volunteers. "You do pay a lot of taxes, but you don't get much from the public sector." Part of it, he says, is that studiously neutral Sweden doesn't spend what America does on the military. Before we hang up, he gives me some advice. "If I were an American," he says, "I would say, 'For the taxes we already pay we should at least get public preschool."

NOW THAT I'VE BEGUN to understand the Swedish model, warts and all, I still want to know: How can we be more like them? My last stop is the office of Leif Pagrotsky, a former Cabinet Minister from Sweden. "We do this for our own needs, based on our own values," he demurs, when I ask. Pagrotsky points out that limited government is a deeply rooted American value. True, I reply, but U.S. government has always helped *some* people.

He sighs. "I will say this," he says.

I hold my breath and wait.

"Some things are possible," he says eventually. "Some things are within human reach to do." If we learn nothing else from Sweden, let it be this: it doesn't have to be this way.

No, Sweden doesn't have a magic bullet. The pressure to conform to the Swedish way leaves some people out, especially newcomers; it can be inflexible and unsympathetic to parents who want to work more or parent less intensively, which has slowed women's march through the workforce. It is no inoculation against sexual abuses of power.

And yet. The fact that Sweden hasn't entirely eradicated sexism doesn't mean there's no point in trying—it just means that this is a generations-long shift that requires trial and error, and a commitment to gender equality from every man and woman in the country. Above all, the shift will require Americans' learning to love something many have long hated: Big Government. The brutal reckonings of our time have made clear that the current way isn't working; if we can see that for what it is, there may be hope for Americans yet.

Carmon is a journalist and author of the best-selling book Notorious RBG: The Life and Times of Ruth Bader Ginsburg

Politics



Scott greets voters on June 14 during a campaign stop at Chico's Restaurant in Hialeah, Fla.

The Florida Project

Republican Rick Scott is trying to win a key Senate race by wooing Latinos

By Philip Elliott/Orlando

RICK SCOTT ARRIVED IN A SWELTERING WARE-house on Orlando's east side and began thanking the crowd in Spanish. "Gracias por su apoyo," the Republican Senate hopeful told voters and employees of this flooring business founded 20 years ago by Puerto Rican immigrants. "Es mi oportunidad para conocer a mis amigos." Thank you for your support. It's my chance to meet my friends.

The message was clear in any language. Scott, Florida's two-term governor, is battling Democrat Bill Nelson, a three-term incumbent, in a race that could determine control of the Senate. And both parties believe the outcome may come down to which candidate does a better job wooing Hispanic voters, who make up 25% of the state's population and 17% of its registered voters.

If you believe national pundits, Nelson should have the advantage. Hispanic voters are routinely counted in the Democratic Party's voting coalition, and President Donald Trump has not endeared himself to many of the nation's 58 million Latinos by cracking down on legal and illegal immigration alike. But in a bold play, Scott is working overtime to build support among Hispanics. Two polls published in early September have put him up by double digits with the demographic group, while three in late September showed Nelson with a double-digit advantage.

While the race is up for grabs, there's no question that Scott is outhustling Nelson in Latino communities across Florida, particularly among Puerto Rican constituents, who tend to vote Democratic. Since Hurricane Maria ravaged Puerto Rico a year ago, he has made eight trips to the island to Nelson's

Politics

three. He spearheaded a state initiative to establish welcome centers at the Orlando and Miami airports, designed to help newcomers find their footing in their new home. (When Florida International University surveyed Florida's Puerto Ricans in a poll released in June, Scott was seen more favorably than Nelson.) The governor takes daily Spanish lessons from one of his aides, a Venezuela native and newly minted U.S. citizen. In an interview with TIME aboard his bus during a recent 10-day campaign swing, the governor touted his efforts to become bilingual. "Practicing Spanish every day is important," he said in his second language, leaning forward in his leather captain's chair. "Twenty percent of those voting in this state speak Spanish." (Nelson learned Spanish in 2003 as part of an intensive State Department program.)

Scott's language classes help explain why, in a dismal year for Republicans, he is in an effective dead heat with a wellknown incumbent in the nation's largest swing state. Moreover, his outreach to Hispanics is a snapshot of an unsung trend that could keep the Senate in Republican hands. In several other key battlegrounds, including Arizona, Nevada and maybe even Texas, Democratic candidates are at risk of underperforming with Hispanic voters, lagging behind the numbers the party notched two years ago. "There's a lot to be angry about in terms of what this Administration is doing," says Mayra Macias, political director of the Latino Victory Project and a former Florida Democratic Party official. "But it's not enough to be angry. You have to give Latinos something to vote for."

ONLY TWO YEARS AGO, it looked as if Trump would be kryptonite for GOP efforts to repair the party's relationship with Latinos. He began his campaign for the White House by calling some immigrants "rapists"; pledged to wall off the Mexican border; and went on to collect just 29% of the Hispanic vote, according to often debated exit polls, down from the 44% George W. Bush earned in his 2004 re-election bid. Since taking office, Trump has made good on a campaign promise to crack down on immigration, called Haiti and El Salvador "sh-thole countries," implemented a policy that separated migrant children from their parents and disputed

the death toll from Hurricane Maria. Not surprisingly, a mid-September poll released by the electoral arm of the non-partisan National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) found that 72% of Latino voters have an unfavorable view of Trump.

But in key states around the U.S., Republican candidates are working to overcome the Trump factor by campaigning hard in Hispanic communities. The NALEO Educational Fund poll found that 52% of Latinos who identify as Republicans nationwide have been contacted by a campaign or political group, while just 43% of Democratic Latinos said the same.

This work is evident in state polls. Hillary Clinton carried 62% of Latinos in Florida as the Democratic nominee for President in 2016; according to a Sept. 5 Quinnipiac poll, Nelson is polling at 39% among Hispanic voters. (A Sept. 25 poll from the same university, taken after Nelson started running ads, put his support among Hispanics at 61%.) In Arizona, Clinton took 61% of Latino voters; Democratic Senate nominee Kyrsten Sinema is polling at 54% among Latino voters, according to an NBC News poll released Sept. 25. In Texas, Democratic Senate candidate Beto O'Rourke is carrying 54% of Hispanics, according to a Sept. 18 Quinnipiac survey, trailing Clinton's 2016 showing by 7 points. The comparison is inexact, since the midterm electorate is different, but the figures have left some Democrats alarmed.

Democrats have recognized the problem. Sinema is on the air with an ad in which she says in Spanish, "The Washington politicians are always fighting. Enough!" Mi Familia Vota, a left-leaning group, launched an effort on Sept. 11 to register 15,000 Spanish-speaking Nevadans, while Democrats have spent more than \$12 million against Republican Senate incumbent Dean Heller. The Democratic National Committee and the state party in Florida have robust outreach efforts that include more than 50 bilingual organizers targeting Hispanic voters. Yet Republicans have been on the ground for months, even years, in these states. Consider Florida. The Republican National Committee's "Bienvenido a Florida" programs, introduced last year, are designed to be one-stop orientations to life in Florida, especially for the roughly 200,000



Puerto Ricans who came to the state after Hurricane Maria. "We're not delusional. The island of Puerto Rico tends to lean blue," says Taryn Fenske, one of 19 RNC staffers stationed in Florida to help the party make inroads with Hispanic voters. Since July, the RNC has held 40 events designed to connect with Puerto Ricans, including efforts to help them register to vote, enroll in schools and find churches. They've also knocked on 100,000 Hispanic voters' doors and made 65,000 calls to them. And in a state where the last two presidential elections have come down to a few votes per precinct, it can make a difference.

A FEW MILES from the RNC offices in Orlando sits one of the state's 14 outposts of Americans for Prosperity (AFP), the advocacy group backed by billionaire Charles Koch. In 2014, when Scott last ran for governor, the group's political arm, AFP Action, had conversations at 350,000 doors where the person answering was likely to support Scott. Scott won by about 66,000



In two of five recent polls, Scott has led his Democratic opponent, Senator Bill Nelson, among Hispanic voters

votes. "There's no margin for error here," Chris Hudson, AFP's Florida director, told TIME in mid-September, sitting in his windowless office in a suburban strip mall. "We're outnumbered."

A day later, members of AFP's Hispanic-focused project, the LIBRE Initiative, packed into a rented minivan to drive around a neighborhood near the Orlando airport, armed with a list of Spanish-speaking residents. They wanted to make sure sympathetic neighbors were aware of the election, were registered and had their questions answered. At one home, 66-year-old retiree Jose Santiago opened his door to find three women armed with tablets and a script about the importance of voting in November. After the AFP canvassers made their pitch in Spanish, Santiago told TIME that

he's leaning toward supporting Scott but hasn't decided. The LIBRE volunteers, he added, "come around and let us know how things are going. It's a good idea to come and see who's going to vote, especially in the Spanish community."

The race in Florida will hinge on hundreds of thousands of such encounters. "You don't mount a Hispanic-outreach effort in a month," says Andres Malave, an AFP spokesman for Florida. "For the governor, it's been his whole eight years being actively present."

Nelson gets the message. The Senator—who first won elected office in Florida in 1972 and has been out of government for only four years since—has never been one to run toward the television cameras. But at the urging of pals in Washington, he has done a string of Spanish-language interviews in recent weeks to talk up his service on a Puerto Rico committee, his decades of work for Florida's Hispanic residents, and travels to Central and South America as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Hispanics are

"like all voters," Nelson told TIME over the phone as he rushed to the Orlando airport Sept. 24 to catch a flight back to Washington. "Environment. Health care. Education. It's all those issues that most voters care about." Asked about his outreach to displaced Puerto Ricans, Nelson says, "I think you're going to see a fairly big support for me in that subset of the Hispanic vote."

Allies profess confidence but admit Nelson has work to do. Maurice Ferré, the first Puerto Rican to win Miami's mayorship, has urged Nelson's campaign to focus on health care, jobs and housing. Meanwhile, Democrats are gearing up to return fire after enduring millions of dollars' worth of negative TV ads. Nelson's "big message," says Darren Soto, a first-term Democratic Congressman from Orlando whose father came to the U.S. mainland from Puerto Rico, "is that Scott and Trump are best buddies and Trump is anathema in our community."

While Scott and Trump are indeed friends, the governor has distanced himself from the President on some issues. When Trump said studies on how many people died from Hurricane Maria were wrong, Scott condemned it. Days later he made his eighth trip to Puerto Rico to reinforce the point. "Do I agree with the President's tweet? No," Scott says, back on his campaign bus. Then, without missing a beat or taking a breath, he recognized Trump's appeal among white residents, who still make up two-thirds of the state's registered voters: "When I agree with him, I'll agree with him."

While polls show the race is tight, there's something about Scott that seems a beat quicker. For instance, when asked why someone with his wealth and executive skills would want to go join Washington's dysfunction, Scott has a ready answer, one that helps explain why he's making the race for Hispanic voters so competitive.

"My mom told me that, by the grace of God, I was born in this country and grew up in this country and I got to do anything I wanted to do," he says. "If I had been born in Cuba, I wouldn't have this opportunity. Venezuela? Nicaragua? I was born in this country and I've had success, so I can do this." It's a sentiment tailored to the first- and second-generation immigrants who may decide the balance of power in Washington next year.



Culture

WRITTENIN THE STARS

Bradley Cooper reimagines an iconic Hollywood story—and transforms Lady Gaga into a movie star

By Sam Lansky

F YOU'VE LOOKED AT A screen at any point over the past few months, you've probably seen the trailer for A Star Is Born at a movie theater, on TV or on YouTube, where it's already been viewed 9.2 million times. Or maybe you've seen the recut version of it, which reimagines the film starring the Muppets. Or maybe you follow the Twitter account dedicated to memes based on the trailer's most memorable moments—like the one where Bradley Cooper's aging rocker, Jack Maine, rolls down his car window and grunts at Lady Gaga's aspiring singer, Ally, "Hey." She turns. "What?" His eyes crinkle. "I just wanted to take another look at you," he says. It's the kind of perfect little movie moment that can thaw even the iciest of hearts.

A Star Is Born isn't even out yet, and it has already ascended to the

sort of pop-culture juggernaut status typically reserved for superhero fare. Over breakfast in a West Hollywood diner, Cooper, who co-wrote, directed and stars in the film, seems as if he still hasn't taken a breath. The actor, 43, has been nominated for four Oscars already, and his movies have grossed nearly \$8 billion worldwide. But when he took the helm as a director for the first time on A Star Is Born, he had no guarantee that this movie, a remake of one of the most iconic stories of the past century, starring himself opposite one of the most potent symbols of postmodern celebrity, would even work. He'd never sung on camera before. She'd never starred in a movie before. The stakes were high. The margin for error was slim.

"There are times where you think, It's O.K. if this doesn't work," he says. His eyes, cool and blue, widen. "And then there are a couple of moments in your life where you

◆Cooper spent more than three years working on A Star Is Born; "It's the exact movie I wanted to make," he says

Culture

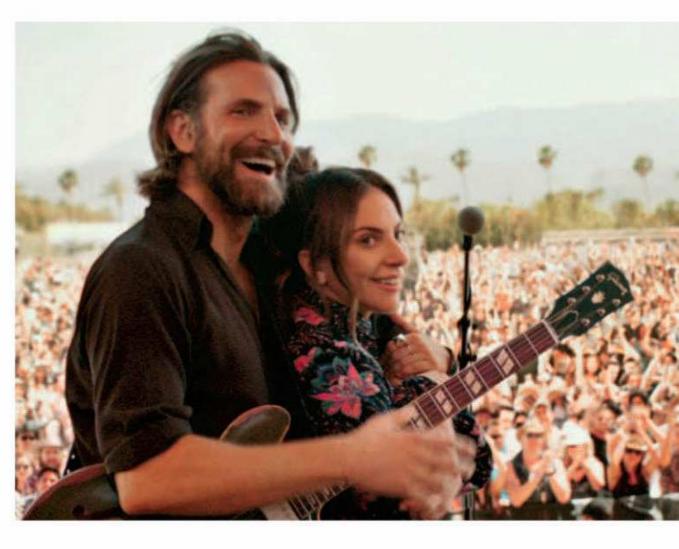
think, Actually, I'm going to fall down a ladder about 20 rungs if this doesn't work."

To put it mildly, it works. The film premiered at the Venice Film Festival in late August to critical acclaim, quickly sparking awards buzz for both Cooper and Gaga. (Expect the original music, sensational throughout, to sweep too.) It's not just festival hype. A Star Is Born is a true pleasure to watch, triumphant and sad and rich with a texture that's anchored by two deeply felt performances. On this morning, Cooper has just returned to L.A. from Venice before he takes the film to Toronto, where the movie will be received just as enthusiastically. And he's happy, of course, that everyone loves it. "It's the exact movie I wanted to make," he says, calling it "an artistic catharsis." But like the movie, his emotions are complicated. "There's a sadness in giving something away," he says. "It doesn't belong to you anymore."

When the film opens on Oct. 5, it will belong, instead, to the world. And it's not difficult to imagine what happens next. A Star Is Born's story is ultimately tragic, but it's not a downer. And in a year when many of the best films have tackled worthy social issues, this one stands out because it's just a big, old-fashioned love story the kind Hollywood has all but stopped making. It's likely to be both a commercial success and an awards-season shoo-in. Its closest reference point might be Titanic but not even James Cameron had Lady Gaga. "To me it's about the power of believing in someone, and believing in yourself," Gaga tells me later by phone. "Now it's really up to the public to decide what the movie means to them."

THE MOVIE, OF COURSE, has been made three times already: first in 1937, starring Fredric March and Janet Gaynor; then in 1954, with James Mason and Judy Garland; and again in 1976, starring Kris Kristofferson and Barbra Streisand. Each film tells the story of a young unknown woman who gets discovered by a male star; her ascent to fame and their romance happen concurrently as he descends deeper into alcoholism, ultimately meeting a tragic fate.

For Cooper, it was the kind of story that spoke to him when he was a kid growing up outside Philadelphia, across the street from a movie theater. He's



happy that his career took nearly a decade to build as he worked steadily, because he got to learn along the way. "To me, I was majorly successful doing a Wendy's commercial and paying off my student loans on *Alias*," Cooper says. He spent a lot of time in the editing room shadowing people like J.J. Abrams, "logging hours of learning," and got inspired by actors including Vince Vaughn, with whom he worked on *Wedding Crashers*: "I remember being blown away by how fearless he was," Cooper says. He's thoughtful when he talks about his work, like a student recalling his teachers and classes.

Cooper was also working with some of the best filmmakers in the industry, including David O. Russell—who directed him in *Silver Linings Playbook* and *American Hustle*—and Clint Eastwood, the first person who approached him about remaking *A Star Is Born*. But it took several years after that initial conversation

'I LOVE HER SO DEEPLY. IT'S BECAUSE WE WERE AT OUR MOST VULNERABLE TOGETHER.'

BRADLEY COOPER, on his co-star, Lady Gaga

for Cooper to be willing to take the helm as both director and star. "I've always known I wanted to direct," he says. "Always. So it was about facing the fear of doing it. I said by 40 if I haven't taken a shot, shame on me."

When we're talking about his craft, Cooper is measured, but he opens up as we turn to topics like the #MeToo and #TimesUp movements. "The potential for one of the major veins of culture, which is misogyny and patriarchy, to be shattered, is a f-cking miracle," he says. And he's as effusive in his praise of Gaga, whom he calls by her given name, Stefani—as she is about him.

"From the moment we met, I felt a kindred spirit in him," she says. "And as soon as I heard him sing, I stopped dead in my tracks. I knew he could play a rock star. Actually, he's the only actor on the planet who could play this one." The way Cooper puts it, it was a mutual leap of faith. "She entrusted me with giving herself so she could reveal herself to be the actress that she is," he says, "and I entrusted her that I would be able to become the musician that I was terrified to be."

works in large part because they're credible together: Cooper as a past-his-prime roots-rock superstar and Gaga as the young woman he sees singing "La Vie en Rose" in a grungy bar when he stumbles in drunk after a gig. Their romance blooms, and soon he's pulling her up



Cooper and
Gaga shot
scenes at
music festivals
including
Coachella and
Glastonbury

onstage to perform in front of thousands of people. She's insecure, but when she starts singing in front of the crowd, it's an electrifying and raw moment. "I love her so deeply," Cooper says now of Gaga. "It's because we were at our most vulnerable together."

Vulnerability is an idea that comes up a lot when Cooper is talking about *A Star Is Born*: You can see him, as both storyteller and performer, mining some deep pain to make this movie. Jack is an alcoholic—Cooper, who has spoken in the past about his struggles with substance abuse, is now sober—and the character's painful descent into addiction has the texture of someone who's lived it first-hand. "Two things had to be bulletproof: I wanted musicians to see this movie and go, 'Holy sh-t, it's real,'" he says. "And I wanted anyone who's gone through addiction to go, 'Holy sh-t, that's the way it is.'"

For Gaga, her character's story wasn't exactly autobiographical, but she still connected to it. "When I wanted to be a musician, I hit the ground running," she says. "I was banging down every door I could, dragging my piano around New York trying to get people to listen to what I had to say." Her character, she says, has already been beaten down by the music industry for her looks: "I had to go back even further, to my teenage years, where I was bullied in high school and felt not pretty enough."

Cooper insists he didn't set out to make a movie about fame, which isn't a

subject that interests him much personally. "It doesn't feel like I'm in some weird hyperreality," he says. "I live a very normal life." But he's been in the public eye long enough to know that fame, as he puts it, "creates a rhythm to life that's unique. And that rhythm is like ..." He stretches his hands apart and makes a whooshing noise with his breath and then pulls them back together. "Anybody that has to do something public—there's just so much energy. And then it's private. That's a conundrum, having to equalize yourself spiritually and emotionally. Because you're so high and then you're not."

fame energy—in the room a few weeks later at the Los Angeles premiere. When Gaga enters the theater to take her seat, something ripples through the crowd like a shudder. There are gasps and shrieks. During one scene of gravely serious conflict between Cooper and Gaga that culminates in a vulnerable moment, a man in the audience screams, "YAS!"

At the after-party, a swarm of people surrounds Gaga as she works the perimeter of the room, like dozens of planets orbiting a sun. Necks crane and people lift their phones over their heads, trying to capture a glimpse of her. Cooper's off to one side, chatting contentedly. They both look happy—and why wouldn't they be? They pulled it off: She's a real movie star. He's a real filmmaker. And now, just like that, they're giving it away.

ANALYSIS

A Star Is Born, again and again—and that's O.K.

By Stephanie Zacharek

Given how drastically women's roles have changed within the past century, we should consider ourselves lucky that we've gotten so many different versions of A Star Is Born. What happens when a woman's career ascends just as her romantic partner's tumbles into decline? And just how far can a woman go without losing herself? Bradley Cooper brings that conversation into the modern age with his renewed A Star Is Born.

The plot harks back to George Cukor's 1932 What Price Hollywood?, drawn from a story by Hollywood scribe Adela Rogers St. Johns. Next came William Wellman's 1937 A Star Is Born: Janet Gaynor's sensible sweetness balances Fredric March's rakish élan. In 1954 Cukor tackled the material again, with stars Judy Garland and James Mason outperforming each other in different ways: he wins the movie's soul, but she's got it by the jugular. And in Frank Pierson's 1976 version, Barbra Streisand turns Kris Kristofferson into literal and figurative roadkill, crushing his gentle perceptiveness with her grand gestures. Cooper's star, Lady Gaga, as a low-key singer-songwriter who becomes a pop powerhouse, serves as a much needed corrective. No wonder this material endures: for today's women, as for those of the 1930s, love and success shouldn't cancel each other out—but that doesn't always make them easy bedfellows, either.





Oiling the Gears

The development of African nations gains momentum with help from a Chinese petroleum giant. By Deng Yaqing

eep in the interior of Central Africa lies the Republic of Chad, a country dependent on agriculture for most of its revenue. Below the surface, it has abundant reserves of petroleum, but it was not until Chinese oil and gas giant China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) began production there in 2011 that the country was eventually able to fulfill domestic oil demand with its own supply.

When CNPC first set foot in Chad 15 years ago, domestic oil consumption in the country was heavily dependent on imports. In September 2007, a bilateral agreement was reached to build a joint-stock refinery plant, marking the starting point of China-Chad petroleum cooperation.

As the N'Djamena refinery plant went into production in June 2011, President Idriss Déby Itno said his country had won the victory of energy independence, which he attributed to Chad's significant partnership with China.

Solid progress

Now, the CNPC operation covers the entire petroleum industrial chain in Chad, ranging from exploration and development to pipeline transportation, refining and storage, project construction, and technology

However, such starting-from-scratch stories are not confined to Chad. CNPC's cooperation with Sudan began as early as 1995, and the project has now become CNPC's largest and most successful overseas venture. In Niger, a complete petroleum industrial system has taken shape through a partnership with CNPC, allowing the country to not only meet its own oil demand, but also earn foreign exchange through oil exports. Now, the petroleum industry is the backbone of the local economy. And in addition to Chad and Niger, the CNPC West Africa branch has also seen its operations spread into Algeria, Mozambique and Tunisia.

With support from the Chadian partner and its stakeholders, CNPC has developed two exploration and extraction projects, two crude oil pipeline projects and the N'Djamena refinery, which can produce gasoline, diesel, aviation fuel, fuel oil, liquefied natural gas and polypropylene.

By the end of July 2018, the company had developed six oil fields in Chad. The oil production rate has registered steady growth in recent years and is approaching 80,000 barrels of oil per day (BOPD). Company data shows that in the near future, petroleum exploration and development capacity in Chad will reach 120,000 BOPD.

Going from risk exploration to large-scale development in Chad, CNPC says it routinely follows the principle of seeking quality and efficiency while maintaining sustainable development.

CNPC's oil exploration and development activities in Africa are guided by the concept of mutually beneficial cooperation. The company strictly follows local policies, laws and regulations, and it upholds a multinational corporate culture of mutual respect, openness and compatibility, said Chen Shudong, general manager of CNPC International West Africa Ltd

Chad has now seen a steady domestic supply of oil products from the N'Djamena refinery, and it exports part of the output to neighboring countries, laying a solid foundation for the nation's economy and strength.

In Niger, CNPC's West Africa branch had paid more than \$1 billion in taxes to the government by the end of 2017. As of this May, the company had produced 5.28 million tons of crude oil in the country, according to its statistics.

Corporate responsibilities

In Sudan and South Sudan, CNPC has been fulfilling its social responsibilities by engaging in well-planned activities providing public benefits. The company has invested \$120 million to support the development of agriculture, education, culture, medical care and infrastructure, benefiting more than 2 million African people.

By promoting the integration of diverse

cultures within the company, employees with different cultural backgrounds can understand and trust each other and live in harmony with local communities, said Chen.

In the hinterland of Niger in the Sahara Desert, the shortage of water is an obvious problem. To raise the living standards of residents in nearby cities and towns, CNPC has dug 29 water wells and more than 40 water sources for use by local households and animal husbandry. The same arid condition is also a challenge in Chad. By the end of this July, a total of 65 water wells had been drilled by CNPC, benefiting 25,000 residents in 21 villages.

Apart from water shortages, gaining access to education in some African countries is still difficult for many children. The CNPC Niger branch says it has built 38 schools in areas neighboring its upstream projects and oil pipelines in the past few years. In Chad, three primary schools have been built and study materials have been sponsored at three local schools. A joint education program with a local university near the refinery plant has been maintained for years, while local students and technicians have been sent to China to receive further training and education.

Since CNPC entered the Chad market in 2003, the company has signed a large number of purchasing and service contracts with local enterprises, substantially boosting Chad's economic development.

FOCAC connection

With the N'Djamena refinery coming into production, the retail price of refined oil in Chad was reduced by about one-third, and the country eventually started to develop its own polypropylene processing industry.

According to Chen, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) is the most extensive, high-level and influential platform for communication between China and African countries.

"It will play an increasingly important role in promoting mutually beneficial cooperation between China and Africa in the field of energy, especially oil in the case of CNPC,



President of Chad Idriss Déby Itno (front, second right) attends the handover ceremony of the first phase of the Ronier oilfield project, developed by CNPC, on March 1, 2011.

and in building a community with a shared future," he said.

CNPC will strengthen cooperation with related countries in Africa in its oil and gas business through deep cooperation with resource countries, and it will take an active role in maintaining the partnership between China and Africa, said Chen.

Adhering to the business principles of being sincere, hands-on and honest, the ${\it CNPC} says it aims to continue pushing forward$ its cooperation plans with African countries, assist Africa in developing itself alongside China, and facilitate regional industrialization and agricultural modernization, in an effort to achieve win-win results and realize shared development. ■





Local residents collect water from a well dug by CNPC in Chad in February 2011.



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NIGHT SCHOOL PASSES THE TEST WITH THE HELP OF TIFFANY HADDISH CARY JOJI FUKUNAGA RETURNS TO TELEVISION WITH A HEADY NEW SERIES THERE'S STILL HOPE FOR TWO NEW SHOWS WITH PREDICTABLE PREMISES

TimeOff Opener

MUSIC

Robyn proves pop stars have feelings too

By Sam Lansky

obyn knows where she's going—more than I do, at least. It's a cloudy day in London and we're standing outside a convenience store, both of us staring at our respective phones, trying to navigate to the National Gallery. I keep rotating, trying to get oriented to the mazelike intersection of streets. "I think we go this way!" she says brightly, pointing down one road. She sets off in that direction, her backpack—half-unzipped, its contents visibly jostling—bobbing behind her.

The singer, 39, is disarming and unpretentious. Her platinum blond hair is cut boyishly short. She's wearing next to no makeup and a camouflage-print Jean Paul Gaultier jacket. As I follow her through Leicester Square, crowded with tourists, nobody stops her or even does a double take.

But if Robyn does not move through the world like a pop star, it's also true that she is not like most of them. She's a singer, songwriter and producer who has spent the past two decades being quietly peerless. Her last album, 2010's *Body Talk*, served as a blueprint for the sound of mainstream music in the decade that followed: from Carly Rae Jepsen's "Call Me Maybe" to Taylor Swift's 1989, you can hear Robyn's influence—bright synths, perfectly symmetrical choruses and more than a whiff of melancholy. When Lorde performed on *Saturday Night Live* last year, she did so with a framed photo of Robyn above the piano. Earlier this year NPR called her "the 21st century's pop oracle."

Body Talk, which spawned the cult singles "Dancing on My Own" and "Call Your Girlfriend," marked the biggest moment yet for the artist, born Robin Miriam Carlsson, who had been working steadily since the mid-'90s: first as a teen pop sensation with a pair of Top 10 hits in the U.S., and then as an indie dance star releasing music through the 'oos via the label she founded, Konichiwa Records, collaborating with electropop experimentalists like the Knife and Röyksopp. But after the global success of Body Talk, which earned her two Grammy nominations and legions of new fans, instead of capitalizing on all that momentum, Robyn went dark. "I needed to take time off when I made this music, and I did—because I was in a life crisis," she says now over lunch at a tapas restaurant in Soho. She was depressed after going through a breakup with her longtime boyfriend Max Vitali. (They have since reunited.) She was also grieving the death of her close friend and collaborator Christian Falk, who was



'The idea of getting to the chorus wasn't as interesting to me anymore.'

Robyn

diagnosed with pancreatic cancer in 2014 and died several months later. "I was very raw," she says.

She had never been depressed before—not like that. "I think I had it coming," she says. "It was waiting in the shadows. I would always work my way out of anxiety. But when I was in this depression, that didn't work. And all these other things that I needed to deal with came up as well: childhood, relationships, [anticipating] turning 40. All of it at the same time." She worked on a few collaborations and side projects, but she felt stuck. "I felt like I didn't want to make music," she says. "I couldn't catapult my way out of it."

week. And she gave herself time to feel everything. She started to find a groove again in the physicality of the music she was making, in the way beats made her body rock back and forth. "The only way I could make music was to start making it in a way that made me feel better," she says. Her new music wasn't as crisp and mathematical as the clean pop songs that earned her such a devoted following. These songs felt different to her: more personal and more visceral. "It became all about pleasure," she says.

It takes a couple of listens to begin to understand the album Robyn ended up writing, which is called Honey. But once it clicks into place, it's as satisfying as anything she's ever released. The first single, "Missing U," serves as connective tissue between the last era and this new one: it's sparkling, halfeuphoric and half-elegiac. But nothing else on the album has that familiar texture—least of all the title track, which might be Robyn's masterpiece. It's layered and psychedelic, like a Balearic dance party more tactile than sonic. "I spent more time on that song than I did on any other piece of music in my whole life," she says. "You know when you have those experiences that are fundamentally changing, or spiritual, almost? I wanted to make sure the song explained that. I wanted it to be more than mood. I wanted it to be a physical feeling."

What kind of feeling? She sighs. "When you go through big changes," she says slowly, "when people die, or you break up with someone, whatever—it destabilizes you in this intense way." The years she spent feeling lost changed her indelibly. "It wasn't about coming back to a normal life," she says. "I don't think I'll be able to go back to feeling the security that I felt before—that's gone. I'm so much more aware of how unstable the world is. Even the things we take for granted ..." She grips the edge of the countertop with her hands and shakes it for a second, as if trying to lift it off the ground. The only things that felt truly sturdy were her connections—with other people, with her music, with herself.



Maybe that's why Honey feels so different: because it's not about anything as simple as a broken heart. What she's wrestling with now is more existential than that. In Robyn's old songs, the images of hurt are vividly external: she makes the dance floor a battlefield for the heart, twirling alone in a disco in "Dancing on My Own," or, as in her other best song, "Be Mine!" she stages a scene of anguish at a train station, where she watches an ex bend down to tie his new girlfriend's shoelaces. On Honey, she's reaching out in the dark, trying to make a connection, in songs that are atmospheric and full of white space, instead of dense with glittering synths. Her lyrics are plaintive and straightforward, like: "Come get your honey." Or: "Baby, forgive me." Or: "Don't give up on me."

That last one is from a song called "Human Being." On the chorus, she sings over and over again, "I'm a human being." The song never reaches a triumphant refrain. But it's beautiful and sad, even if it doesn't sound like anything Robyn's done before. "The idea of getting to the chorus wasn't as interesting to me anymore," she says. Writing these songs was a different kind of drug. "It was like tripping on sadness."

ONCE WE FINALLY MAKE IT to the National Gallery, Robyn wants to find paintings by Caravaggio, the Italian Baroque painter. His work, she says, is so sensual: "All those naked women thinking about God." She loves the hedonism of these

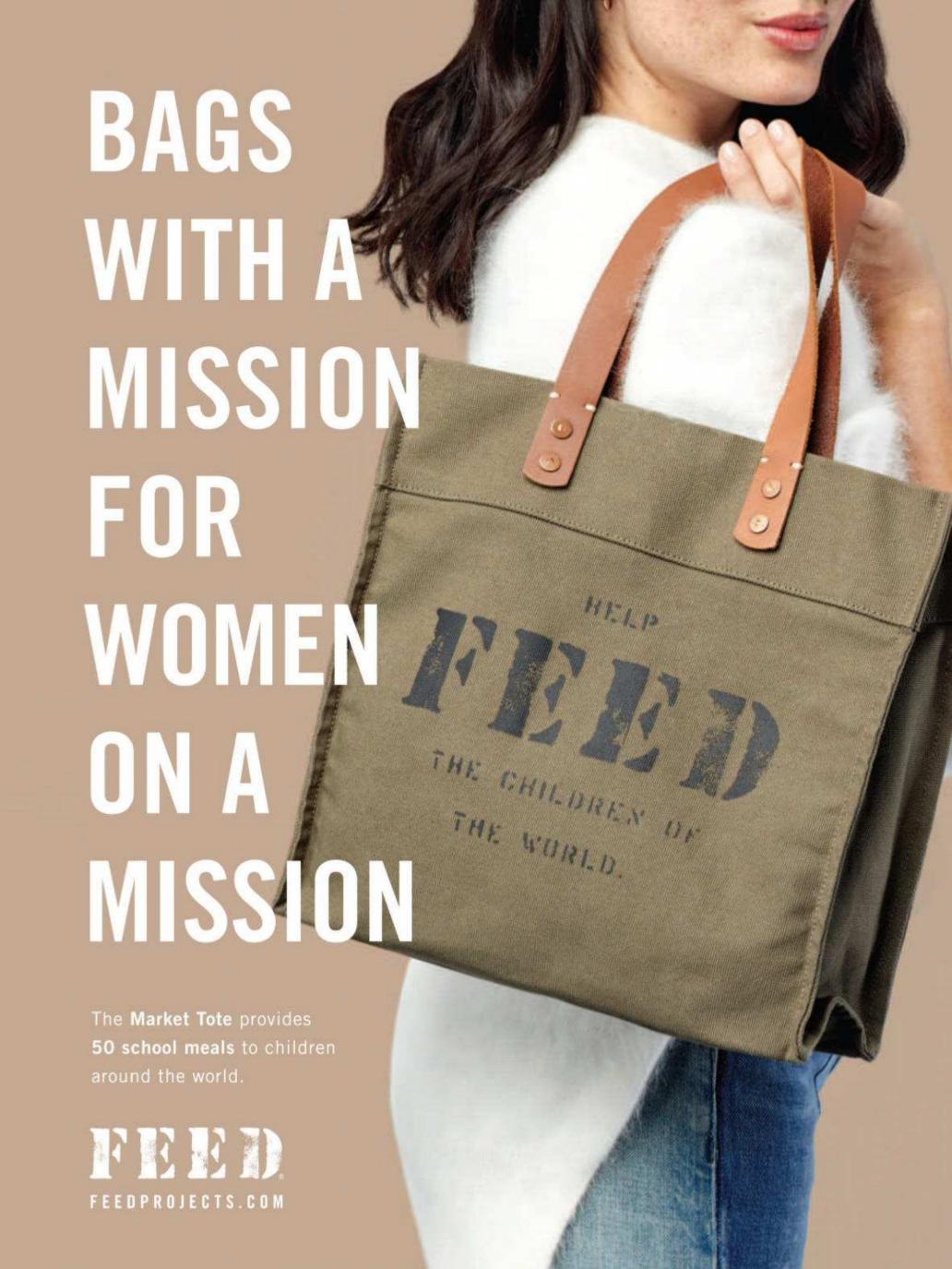
Robyn onstage at the Governors Ball Music Festival on June 3, 2016, in New York City paintings, the way they celebrate pleasure.

But we end up breezing past many of the round-bellied nudes to stop instead in front of a Caravaggio painting called *Boy Bitten by a Lizard*. The subject is a young man, his shoulder exposed, his hands contorted like claws. The expression on his face is exquisite—some agony (from the titular lizard bite, presumably), but also a feeling that's otherworldly and possessed. We look at it for a long time. "This is the one I wanted to see," she says.

She listens to the audio guide, her eyes widening as she reacts to the narration. "Listen to this," she says, putting the headphones over my ears. An art historian is explaining that the painting is typically perceived as an allegory for the five senses: it's about experiencing *everything*—even the pain.

It's just like the sounds she's been chasing. Those luminous swells of feeling, all of it—the joy and the sadness, the dancing and the crying, the high and the comedown. And here we are, all these centuries later, still trying to find the best way to express this thought: how good it all feels, and how badly it can hurt, when you're a human being and vulnerable. When you have to stay in both the light and the dark.

Caravaggio was a pioneer of that technique; he called it chiaroscuro. It's on Robyn's face even now as she studies the painting. "You know, at the end of the day," she says, "we're all just human beings who will die." And then she covers her face with her hands and laughs.



GHT SCHOOL: UNIVERSAL; FREE SOLO: NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

TimeOff Reviews



Haddish and Hart spar as a mismatched teacher and student

MOVIES

Night School fails Tiffany Haddish

By Stephanie Zacharek

IT WAS ONLY LAST SUMMER, IN Malcolm D. Lee's ebullient and raunchy *Girls Trip*, that Tiffany Haddish surfed into view like a comic Venus on the half shell: She was so vibrant, she made every scene sing. Her timing, both loose-limbed and sure-footed, meant she could ride the wave of even the most ridiculous joke with ease.

Haddish is now in high demand, but her glorious—and deservedascent doesn't mean every project is worthy of her. In Night School, also directed by Lee, Haddish plays teacher Carrie to Kevin Hart's student Teddy, a high school dropout trying to get a GED so he can become a stockbroker and thus feel worthy of his smart, successful fiancée Lisa (Megalyn Echikunwoke). Lee has a knack for making perceptive comedies (The Best Man Holiday, *Undercover Brother*) marked by their generosity of spirit. He's less interested in rigid stereotypes than in scratching the surface to see what quirks he can find beneath. That's true of Night School too: Teddy's classmates are at first rigid comedic

placeholders—the spoiled white girl (Anne Winters), the angry Latino (Al Madrigal)—only to become warmer and more fully dimensional once you get to know them.

But for now, at least, a movie featuring Kevin Hart is going to be a Kevin Hart movie: at this point, his personality is too big to fold up; his jackrabbit energy dominates. That doesn't leave much oxygen for Haddish, whose loopy, billowing spirit needs lots of airspace. And still, somehow, she's the movie's guiding presence. Her finest moment is her entrance: Carrie and Teddy first meet not in the classroom but when their cars are stopped at a light, and Teddy expresses shock at the salacious, marvelous trash talk streaming from her mouth as she yaks on her cell phone. (The person on the other end is her mom.) These two instant enemies argue and sputter before Haddish's Carrie peels off, leaving Teddy—whose car has a broken windshield, among other issues—in the dust. "Bye, boo!" she calls back to him, but the tone has been set. Hart clings tight to the rest of the movie, as if she hadn't already driven away with it.

MOVIES

A thrilling Solo is worth the climb

THERE ARE THOSE WHO take risks. And there are those who like to sit in a chair watching as others take risks. If you fit in either of those categories, the documentary *Free Solo*—a portrait of climber extraordinaire Alex Honnold, focusing on his record-breaking scaling of Yosemite National Park's magnificent, 3,000-ft.-high El Capitan—is for you.

Honnold is a free solo climber, which means he scales rock formations—and not safe little short ones, either—without harnesses or ropes. Directors Jimmy Chin and Elizabeth Chai Vasarhelyi (Meru) follow Honnold, a charming, low-key savant, as he prepares for the supremely dangerous El Capitan climb. Honnold's sport of choice involves insinuating his fingers and toes, the latter clad in soft, flexible shoes, into the tiniest dents of a rock face. If he slips, he dies there's no nicer way to put it. The movie's final section, chronicling the fulfillment of Honnold's nutso mission, is visually and emotionally dazzling. Want to look away? Just try.—s.z.



TimeOff Reviews

QUICK TALK

Cary Joji Fukunaga

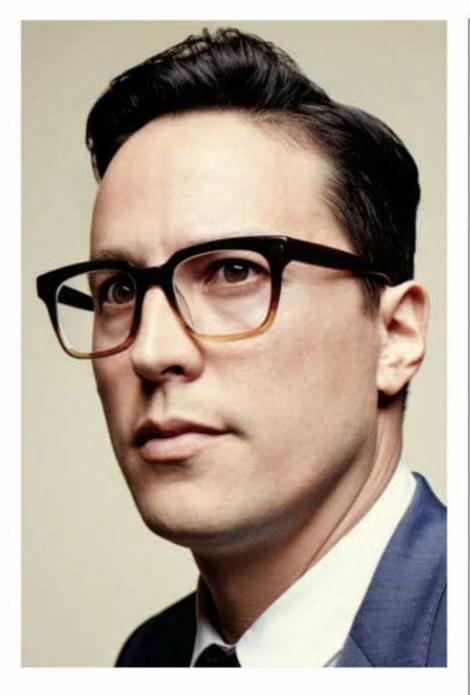
In Netflix's new limited series Maniac, Emma Stone's and Jonah Hill's lives mysteriously intersect after they experience hallucinations while participating in an experimental drug trial. Four years after directing the first season of True Detective, the Emmy winner returns to TV to helm every episode of the surreal show.

Maniac is loosely based on a Norwegian series. What did you change? We didn't pull much besides the idea of delusions. There's one male protagonist in the original, and I wanted to work with Emma Stone. So the characters were going to have to change. She did not want to play a therapist fixing a man's problems or a manic pixie dream girl who is just a foil to the male character.

Why was it appealing to dive into delusions? You spend so much time with a show, and being able to play with different rules and set pieces was appealing. But we didn't just want a grab bag of Hollywood genres. We wanted the actors to be able to play against type.

The show is ultimately about two people with mental-health issues helping each other. What draws them together? They're both very lonely people. They put up walls, and the delusions break them down.

Are you skeptical that a pill, or even therapy, can solve all your problems? I don't want to be confused for being antimedication, because pills save people's



6WE QUESTION
WHY WE WANT
TO "FIX" THINGS
AND WHAT IS
NORMAL OR
ACCEPTABLE IN
SOCIETY 9

lives. But I think there's no quick and easy pill that can fix things permanently. And we question why we want to "fix" things and what is normal or acceptable in society. We want to challenge the stigma around mental illness.

The characters exist in a dystopian world: you can earn money by having someone follow you around and read ads. How did you build that world? It would have been easier to set the show in New York, 2017. But we wanted to make clear their baseline reality is not the same as ours. We wanted to create a reality that wasn't too far off from our own.

-ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

TELEVISION

God Friended him. Yes, really

IF YOU'RE PUT OFF BY THE title of the new CBS dramedy God Friended Me, take solace in the fact that the show's hero finds his predicament pretty absurd too. An outspoken atheist who dreams of upgrading his provocative podcast into a radio show, Miles Finer (Brandon Micheal Hall) is mildly amused when he gets his first Facebook friend request from, yes, God. Yet the higher power persists, using social media to put Miles in the path of strangers who need his help.

Though it has some hollow inspirational moments, the show, which premieres Sept. 30, is surprisingly charming and open to tough questions about faith. Hall is a likable, energetic lead, while national treasure Joe Morton, last seen as Scandal's fearsome Papa Pope, reveals a softer side as his reverend dad. Meanwhile, Miles' friend Rakesh (Suraj Sharma), whose parents are obsessed with finding him a nice Indian girl, balances the farfetched premise with realism and humor. —J.B.





The characters struggle to move on after a tragic event

TELEVISION

A novel dose of nontoxic masculinity

By Judy Berman

A MILLION LITTLE THINGS COULD'VE BEEN CONCEIVED BY AN algorithm programmed to synthesize popular TV shows. Like *This Is Us*, it's an ensemble drama designed to elicit gasps and tears. Like 13 Reasons Why, it takes place in the aftermath of a suicide. And, as with something a computer would write, many of its plot points feel hackneyed and implausible all at once.

At the center of the show, which airs on ABC starting Sept. 26, are four middle-aged friends in Boston who've reached crossroads in their lives. Eddie (David Giuntoli of *Grimm*) channels his thwarted rockstar dreams into an extramarital affair while working up the courage to leave his wife. Male breast-cancer survivor Gary (*Psych*'s James Roday) distracts himself from fears of relapse by sleeping with women from his support group. Rome (*Weeds* alum Romany Malco) longs to be a filmmaker but is stuck directing commercials; in his first scene, he's writing a suicide note. It's Gary who saves Rome's life by calling with the news that their fourth friend, Jon (Ron Livingston), has just jumped to his death.

The three surviving pals are shocked, not least because Jon seemed so content, a slick, energetic real estate mogul whose motto was "everything happens for a reason." His friends are left to probe the meaning behind his death. When the men met, years earlier, in a stuck elevator, Jon sealed their new friendship with season tickets to the Bruins. The tradition endured, and in the aftermath of his death, the group vows to use those hockey games to do the same kind of bonding they did in that elevator.

Though the pilot is messy and derivative, and the stronger subsequent episodes can still feel cloying, there's reason to hope *A Million Little Things* will keep getting better. It's the rare show about men that bothers to flesh out their wives, girlfriends and kids, and its cast of seasoned TV actors lends broad characters dimension. Stories that take male friendship seriously are few and far between these days—and now that the word *masculinity* so often comes paired with the word *toxic*, this gentler form of male identity seems ripe for exploration.

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7 Questions

Khaled Hosseini The *Kite Runner* author on sea crossings, the power of storytelling and the importance of explaining harsh realities to children

hat inspired you to write Sea Prayer, your new book about a refugee father preparing to make a perilous journey across the Mediterranean? Ever since I saw the photo of Alan Kurdi, the 3-year-old Syrian boy whose body washed up on a beach in Turkey in 2015, I have wanted to write about sea crossings. My entry point into that story was as a father. I saw that photo and I was devastated. I kept imagining his father's anguish. I kept asking myself what I would do if I had to be the one to see a stranger lift my son from the sand, and have to see photos of that horrible event over and over again.

Why do you think that photo was such a poignant symbol? It was such a visceral photograph that was a painful reminder of how brutal the Syrian civil war has been. It became a symbol for the unfathomable despair that corners people to make that journey.

The book is an illustrated package created for "all ages." How vital is it to be able to explain the refugee crisis to children? Obviously a parent has to make a decision as to what their children read, and has to discuss the book with their children. I want my children to understand the experiences and hardships of other people beyond the borders of their own country.

One of the lines that struck me was when one of your characters said, "If only they saw, they would say kinder things, surely." Have you found that to be true in practice, in your role as a goodwill ambassador for the U.N.'s refugee agency? That's what the Alan Kurdi picture proves. When we're faced with a story, we are wired as a species to respond. To act. We need to be invited into the lives of others; this is why I've written this book. It's what I see my role at the UNHCR to

6 WE NEED TO BE INVITED INTO THE LIVES OF OTHERS ... STORIES REMAIN OUR BEST TEACHERS OF EMPATHY **9**



primarily be—a teller of stories. Stories remain our best teachers of empathy.

You came to the U.S. as a refugee after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. How do you keep Afghan culture alive for your kids, who have grown up in the U.S.? Well, it's a challenge because the ambient culture in the U.S. is quite powerful, so you have to make a conscious effort. We are involved in the Afghan community in Northern California. We enrolled our children in Farsi school. They have a good amount of contact with that side of their identity. That's really important to us, and I think it's something that'll enrich their lives.

What can your experiences of integrating into American life teach us about the best and worst ways to deal with refugees? Refugees and migrants are inherent strands of the American fabric, and it's worked really well both ways. Recent research looked at over 3 million refugees who have lived in the U.S. since 1975 and found that refugees contribute billions of dollars to the American economy. This is not surprising. Everywhere I've been, I've seen the industriousness and the resilience of refugees. Although there may be a short-term cost in welcoming refugees and opening the doors, the long-term dividends are undeniable.

How does it make you feel that almost 40 years after you became a refugee, Afghanistan is still at war? It's heartbreaking. The Afghan people deserve peace. There is a very young and energized population in Afghanistan that is eager to engage with the outer world. I hope that those young Afghans are given the specific economic and security space to make their aspirations come true. I am encouraged that at least there's some dialogue about moving toward a peace agreement. No war ever ends unless the opposing parties sit at a table. —BILLY PERRIGO



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2 INTERVIEWS 3 INFORMATIONAL CALLS AND A NETWORKING EVENT

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